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China Swallow Asia?



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Chapter One

MAO'S PLAN FOR BUILDING AN EMPIRE

What is the answer to the riddle of China's foreign policy, a policy that has been dumbfounding the world for so many years?

Different writers offer very different answers. Peking itself says the heart of the matter lies in "the great revolutionary ideas"—the behests of Mao Ze-dong. Certain quarters in the West claim China "fears" the Soviet Union and is therefore seeking "protection" wherever it can find it. Lastly, there are people who believe China's policy is totally incomprehensible, that it is wrapped in age-old "Asian" mystery beyond the grasp of European and American minds. Many books have been written on the subject, making one conjecture after another.

But one thing at least is indisputable. The same China which the world saw set out on a road leading to socialism thirty years ago has now become the most warlike and trouble-making power on our planet.

Seldom a week or even a day goes by without Peking clamouring about the imminence of another world war and the pressing need to prepare for it. It constantly seeks to ridicule the idea of detente and is making territorial claims upon neighbouring states.

It has come to light that Chinese diplomats have been persistently setting one state against another. The Chinese leaders are feverishly militarising the country. The national policy of the People's Republic of China is spearheaded against two powers above all—the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

The question arises: how did matters come to such a crisis?

What made China break with the countries of the socialist community? And confront them in such an abrupt manner? What led the Chinese leaders to adopt such a line?

Such turns in policy which effect radical changes in the destiny of a whole country and jeopardise the international situation, are not made by accident or inadvertently. After the Second World War and in the 1950s there was every indication that its membership of the socialist community ensured this Asian power a very promising future as regards both its national development and its socialist perspective. No well-informed thinking person could doubt this.

Enjoying the generous support of the Soviet Union the Chinese economy had every possibility of rapid and steady development. There would have been no need to resort to risky and harmful "leaps" which tended to shatter, rather than strengthen, the country's still weak production system. Chinese agriculture would not have been bogged down at the primitive level of manual labour. The possibility of replacing this with machine techniques on a large scale would have remained and the people would not have had to live on a semi-starvation diet. Things in the country would have developed along different lines.

The Chinese leaders would not have had to carry out their disastrous "cultural revolution", to confuse

the minds of immature adolescents, to strangle the intelligentsia and inhibit progress in education and science. The old invaluable Party cadres with revolutionary experience would not have been slaughtered. It would really have been possible to build up a great socialist China to occupy a key position among the world powers.

Lastly, in such circumstances no capitalist power would have dared to raise a finger at China, a member of the mighty socialist community. Its interests would have been ensured once and for all.

This is not open to doubt. A road to progress without precedent in China's many thousand years of history lay open before it. Why did Mao Zedong and his associates refuse to follow it?

Why did they deny their people the possibility of enjoying the benefits of the socialism for which the people had made such sacrifices? Why did the Maoists so ruthlessly destroy the fruits of their people's victories? History itself puts this question to the Maoists and they will not be able to evade it.

It is not our purpose to engage in polemics. We must clarify the essence of the problem. Much has already come to light.

It was not socialist ideas or the interests of the Chinese people that prompted the Peking leaders to take the steps they did. There is another reason that explains it all. When you know the reason, you will no longer be surprised. Peking's policy follows from a special plan Mao Zedong drafted decades ago. This plan has nothing whatever to do with socialism.

This plan's aim is to create an Asian (and subsequently not only Asian) superstate whose territory would include most of the Asian continent. Extending from the Pacific Ocean nearly to the Caspian Sea and from the Indian Ocean to the Bering Sea, it

would embrace more than one third of the world's population.

The present author certainly believes this to be a fantastic project. But people living in the modern age have long noticed that what appear to be fantastic projects cannot be deleted from modern history. Suffice it to recall the development of the 1930s and 1940s, when mankind faced an equally fantastic plan for creating a worldwide empire.

What are the origins of the plan for a Maoist Asian superpower?

It would be a mistake to think Mao Zedong invented it himself. The "great helmsman" did indeed put the present version of the plan into circulation. He regarded its realisation as the main aim of his life. But he was not the real author of the plan.

People who discuss China's policy do not always delve into that country's past. Yet it is precisely China's past that is the key to many of Peking's actions today.

The main goal Chinese feudal emperors pursued right up to the 19th century was never any secret. It was above all the conquest of neighbouring countries, the countries lying South, North, West and East of China.

This is not mere conjecture. It is a fact you will find in all textbooks. In the 17th century the Chinese-Manchu emperors seized South Mongolia, North Mongolia and Korea, in the 18th century East Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Tibet. It was then that they tried to conquer Burma, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Nepal and part of modern India and to advance to Russian settlements on the Amur. Several hundred years before that the great Khubilai Khan had attempted to conquer even Japan.

The emperors evolved a world outlook to justify China's plans for the conquest of Asia. The Chi-

nese imperial state was considered the centre of the Universe (hence China's name—"Empire under the Heavens") and all other peoples were to go down on their knees before it. The Chinese were believed to be the chosen nation, whereas people of other nationalities were considered "barbarians" and "tributaries". Other tribes were to be exterminated or forcefully Sinified. The emperors themselves were referred to as "infallible teachers". We shall consider this in more detail later on.

It is worth noting that no religious slogans were put forward. The Chinese emperors based themselves on purely political and military considerations. Their aim was to conquer the whole of Asia. This policy was pursued over many centuries, by one emperor after another, until European imperialists forced their way into China in the 19th century. It seemed as if the latter had utterly abolished the idea of China as the centre of the Universe. But they had not—the idea survived.

Many years later in the 20th century the right-wing leaders of the Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie which was in power up to the end of the Second World War, tried to revive the idea. Chiang Kai-shek, the Kuomintang leader, wrote in his book "China's Destiny":

"China should win back Burma, Vietnam, Korea and Mongolia."

But the Chinese state under Chiang Kai-shek was too weak to embark upon such adventures in earnest. Mao Zedong alone could become heir to the idea of the Chinese emperors.

Here are a few facts offering documentary evidence of Mao Zedong's role in the plans for building a Chinese Great Asian Empire.

In an interview he granted to American journalist Edgar Snow back in 1936 Mao Zedong said:

"As a schoolboy I read a pamphlet telling of the dismemberment of China... It told of Japan's occupation of Korea and Formosa (Taiwan-E.H.), of the loss of suzerainty in Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea-E.H.), Burma and elsewhere. After I read this I felt depressed..."

These were not just schoolday reminiscences. In the following year Mao Zedong told the very same Edgar Snow that China's immediate task was to regain all the territories it had lost, and not just to defend its sovereignty within the Great Wall of China. It was then he said that the Mongolian People's Republic would eventually become a part of the Chinese Federation. Three years later Mao hinted that Nepal and Annam (present-day Vietnam-E.H.) also belonged to China by right.

When he came to power he expressed himself in even clearer terms. Talking to Japanese parliamentarians in 1964, for instance, he laid claim to vast Soviet territories. In the following year, addressing a meeting of the Chinese Communist Party's Politbureau, he flatly set Maoists the task of seizing South-East Asia and forcing their way into the regions of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Mao said:

"We must without fail get hold of South-East Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore... South-East Asia is a very rich region; it abounds in minerals... In the future it will be very useful for the development of Chinese industry... After we get hold of South-East Asia the wind from the East will prevail over the wind from the West."

Does this language differ in any way from that of a typical imperialist in the recent period—I say "recent" because imperialists can no longer afford to express themselves in such outspoken terms?

So far as the Chinese emperors of the feudal period were concerned, Mao Zedong had no wish to deny that his policy was similar to theirs. He once said:

"Our job is to combine Karl Marx with Chin Shihuang" (the conqueror Chin Shihuang was the founder of a centralised Chinese empire-E.H.).

On another occasion, in December 1956 the newspaper *Renmin ribao* published an editorial which read in part:

"We Chinese should especially remember that in the days of the Han, Tang, Ming and Ching dynasties too our country was a great empire..."

The Maoists began indeed precisely where the feudal rulers of China left off. The ghosts are coming back to life. That is why the fantastic nature of the whole projects is so striking.

When Mao addressed a meeting of the Politbureau in 1965 and said it was important to take over South-East Asia, this was tantamount to the Maoist leaders adopting a decision to that effect. From that moment the Chinese diplomatic service and the Chinese General Staff concentrated all their efforts on preparing to implement this greatpower plan. It soon became known that Mao Zedong's proposed superstate was considerably to exceed the empire the emperors had ruled.

If we take into account the area of all the Asian countries the Peking politicians wish to annex or include in their sphere of influence—even without the territories of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic, without India and the Middle East to which they have laid claim—the overall area will amount to 5,300,000 square kilometres. The population of the thirteen countries to be annexed or dependent exceeds 500 million.

So, if the plans of the Peking leaders were realised, they would have made China a superstate

with a total area of 15 million square kilometres and a total population of 1,500 million. As we have said above, this would embrace more than one-third of the present world population. If we also include India in China's sphere of influence, as the Peking leaders dream, such a superpower would embrace more than half the population of the world.

Did Mao Zedong think his plan for a great Asian empire could be realised overnight? No, he did not. He told his associates it would require time. So in the early seventies he said that to reach the vital shores of the Strait of Malacca and the Singapore Strait (lying between Malaysia and Indonesia) and to reach the eastern frontiers of India, China would need from eight to fifteen years.

One should note this remark because it offers a clue to the present activities of Chinese diplomats. Mao Zedong obviously did not count on any considerable increase in China's might. What he counted on was the outbreak of the Third World War. He and his followers were—and still are—eager to involve the Soviet Union in a war with the West. Mao Zedong maintained that such a war would be an opportune moment for China to engage in active operations in Asia. There is not the slightest doubt that Mao's heirs are still guided by this concept.

What is the essence of this monstrous aim?

The Peking strategists are obsessed by the notion that, if they should succeed in building up huge political, economic and military power in Asia, no other state in the whole world will be able to resist them and so every state would be dependent on them. If this aim were achieved, they would have taken the main step towards establishing their *world hegemony*.

The British imperialists of Lord Curzon's "Oriental School" toyed with a similar idea in their day.

Lord Curzon dreamed of extending the British Empire by adding to India, Burma and Malaysia the lion's share of China, Iran, Afghanistan, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt and even what is now Soviet Central Asia. It was one of the plans that was foiled by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

But the Maoists have learnt very little from the lessons of history. Their plan for a great Asian empire in virtually all its features repeats the old plans the imperialists devised for the continent. There is not the slightest trace of socialist or revolutionary thinking in it. It largely duplicates the Tanaka Plan that gained scandalous notoriety before the war, according to which the Japanese militarists were to seize the lion's share—if not the whole—of the Asian continent. It is a plan unacceptable to all Asian peoples, including the Chinese people.

What are its implications?

After the Second World War it seemed as if the peoples of Asia could now hope to enjoy lasting peace.

The Japanese militarism which had harassed Asian lands for so long had been crushed. With the loss of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and, later, Malaysia, Singapore and the Arab East the British imperialists no longer counted as an aggressive force. Though they continued to trade and draw profit, they no longer ruled these territories as they had ruled them for centuries. France was bogged down in the war in Indo-China and heading for inevitable defeat. The Dutch colonialists too had to surrender their positions in Indonesia. After "ages of slumber" the peoples of Asia were awakening and rising to their full stature.

The United States alone tried to interfere with the course of history—to make short work of the peo-

ple's forces in Korea, to deal a blow at Vietnam and to gain a firm foothold in Japan. But even then it was clear that the imperialists were merely fighting rearguard action. The former colonies were being replaced by newly-free and socialist states which were opening up a new future for the Asian continent. It appeared that from then on Asia could follow an open road.

But now we know that the Chinese chauvinists are trying to close that road by their plans for a great Asian empire.

The aims which the authors of the plans formulated have already been outlined. But their wishes are not what matters most. Suppose Peking tries to put its intentions into practice? This is quite foreseeable. The main facts are to hand. Any policy, regardless of the intentions of those who frame it, will have objective predictable consequences.

Careful examination of the Chinese leaders' plans for a great Asian empire shows that they provide for a main drive in three directions—southward, westward and northward. A drive in each of these directions by Chinese policy is, beyond doubt, fraught with dangerous consequences for peace in Asia. Today it is not easy to play the empire game in any continent.

It is a fact that in all these three directions the muzzle of Chinese policy is aimed at freedom-loving and, above all, socialist and progressive states. In some cases China resorts to tactics of the gradual encirclement of victim countries and taking them by "starvation". In other cases it prefers a policy of aggressive pressure, including coups d'état. In yet other cases it plays the game of concluding sinister alliances and setting one country against another. But in every case China assumes the role

of "sponsor", that is to say, hegemon, at the decisive moment.

An examination of all these methods shows that the Peking strategists have assiduously studied the old practices of imperialist powers in that very same Asia. Everything in their plan is based on what are typically greatpower colonialist "techniques".

Chapter Two

"WE MUST HAVE SOUTH-EAST ASIA!"

The first, southward drive of Chinese expansion in Asia as envisaged in the plan of Mao and his heirs was revealed, for instance, in Mao Zedong's speech at the above mentioned Politbureau meeting in 1965. South-East Asia has had an irresistible attraction for Peking on political, economic and strategic grounds.

China's advance to the South would obviously create an extremely serious situation. Above all, it would threaten the vital interests of two young socialist states—Vietnam and Laos, and also of Kampuchea.

That China displayed ill will towards socialist Vietnam from the outset was noticed long ago. The men in Peking acted as if Vietnam was not an independent country at all. This became evident during US armed intervention in Vietnam. In those days there was only one safe route for supplying Vietnam with arms and ammunition—the land route. The Soviet Union had a common frontier with China and China had a common frontier with Vietnam. So nobody could possibly interfere with shipments along this route. But in the sixties China interfered itself.

Peking obstructed regular goods traffic through Chinese territory. It would hold up railway wagons with arms and spare parts, retaining for its own use many of the articles being delivered. In April 1965 China twice rejected Soviet proposals to organise an airlift from the USSR to Vietnam via China. Soviet aircraft had to fly to Hanoi by a roundabout way—via Teheran, Bombay and Vientiane. The flying time along this route was 23 hours, double the time needed to reach Hanoi via Peking. It was clear that Peking was actually seeking to prolong the war in Vietnam for as long as possible. Another equally interesting point. Deng Xiaoping went to Hanoi with a proposal to the Vietnamese that they reject all Soviet aid and rely wholly on Chinese aid. If this offer was accepted, China would be prepared to give Vietnam 1,000 million dollars, he said. In other words, Vietnam was to become a vassal of China in exchange for money. That was how the British colonialists used to buy Indian maharajas and their principalities.

Moreover, several irrefutable facts show that the Chinese leaders never wanted South Vietnam to be reunified with the main part of the country. They only pretended to support the policy of reunification. In actual fact Peking tried to support anti-Hanoi groups in South Vietnam.

Why were the Maoists pursuing such a policy? It was not immediately clear.

When Vietnam won its decisive victory over the US interventionists in 1975, Peking applauded. The Chinese leaders pretended to congratulate Vietnam sincerely. But when Prof. Stanley Spector, a US expert on Chinese affairs, returned from China, he made a sensational statement that Peking was disappointed by the defeat the US had suffered in Vietnam.

What sense could you make of this? The logical conclusion was that at that time China wished either to share political control over Vietnam with the US or in other circumstances to include Vietnam with its fifty-million population and wealth of natural resources in its own sphere of influence.

But China's wishes did not come true, because Vietnam remained an independent country and resolutely refused to sacrifice its sovereignty. A country which had suffered from Chinese feudal lords for millenniums was unwilling to submit once more to oppression. The Peking leaders have neither forgotten this nor forgiven it.

It soon became known that the collapse of US intervention did not change China's policy in the region. Its aim remained the same, only the methods changed. The principal method here was a detailed operation for the strategic encirclement of Vietnam. This time the attempt was apparently made without direct collusion with the United States.

Peking began to incite its stooges in Kampuchea against Vietnam from the West. It gave them Chinese weapons and sent Chinese military advisers to train them. The Chinese leaders had over a period of many years planned to put pressure on the Kampuchceans. Back in 1967 Norodom Sihanouk, then Cambodian head of state, declared that China was challenging Cambodia's sovereign right to be master of its own country and that it was "Mao-isng our fellow-countrymen in various sections of society". The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique that later came to power in Kampuchea in fact made the country a vassal of China.

In January 1974 in the South China Sea China seized the Paracel Islands, which belong to Vietnam. The aim of this move was to implement the operation of encircling Vietnam from the South and the

East. According to the Indian press, China laid claims to many other islands in the South China Sea.

What do the Chinese need them for, if not for their planned conquest of Vietnam?

Here we have a country that is, above all, concerned with organising and fortifying military positions. These lie more than a thousand kilometres from the coast of China, but very close to Vietnam. It appears that in this region China decided to take over the place which France lost after the war and the US then gave up. Its aim was to subjugate Vietnam in order to become hegemon of the whole of Indo-China.

In 1978 China launched another operation intended to stab Vietnam in the back. It took the form of a frenzied campaign about *huaqiao*, ethnic Chinese residing in Vietnam. What happened? The events were adequately covered by the papers. It is sufficient to note the main points. First: what is the social status of *huaqiao* in Vietnam?

There are 1,200,000 ethnic Chinese living permanently in Vietnam. As in other Asian countries they do not constitute a homogeneous section of the population. So it would be wrong to regard them as such. Many of them are common working people, honest workers and handicraftsmen living in harmony with the Vietnamese. But the upper stratum of *huaqiao* constitutes a definite group. Its members were merchants who grew rich under the French colonialists, especially in the southern part of Vietnam which was used as a base for intervention against North Vietnam. Acting as compradores (agents) of foreign colonial firms, they would buy cheaply the rice the peasants grew in the Mekong River delta and sell imported goods to the peasants at high prices. At the same time they owned transport businesses. They also acted as moneylenders and spe-

culators, exploiting the population, Chinese included. In other words they were parasites living at the expense of toilers, including their own folk.

Some amassed tremendous fortunes. They were referred to as "kings" and magnates. Ma Hy, for instance, was known as the "rice king", Ly Long Than and Lam Hue Ho as the "steel kings", and Ly Hoa as the "petrol king". But a very interesting political development was that virtually all these businessmen and capitalists among the *huaqiao* were drawn into contact with Maoist China in the sixties and seventies. They virtually became its agents. At the same time they constantly transferred large sums of hard currency to China, thereby seriously harming the national economy of the country they were living in. They had been doing so since the time when Chiang Kai-shek and his clique were still in power in China.

Politically the upper stratum of *huaqiao* in Vietnam and other Asian countries played virtually the same role as the Henlein leaders—the German nazis in Czechoslovakia—who engaged in subversive activities in European countries before the Second World War. Just like the Henlein *Volksdeutsch*, the *huaqiao* among the big bourgeoisie betray the country they are residing in. At a time when the vital interests of an Asian state call for nationwide cohesion, the *huaqiao* help incite national strife. This is precisely what Peking wants.

After the liberation of South Vietnam the people's government did not touch the *huaqiao*. All Chinese residents were offered a free choice of either moving to China legally or of remaining in Vietnam as Vietnamese citizens enjoying full citizen rights. As for the businesses of the Chinese commercial and industrial bourgeoisie which held the main levers of South Vietnam's economy in its hands, these were

nationalised by law in keeping with the reorganisation of the social system. Peking regarded this as the signal for action.

China ordered the well-to-do *huaqiao* to disorganise the Vietnamese economy and to plunge the country into chaos. When this scheme failed, Peking urged them to leave the country on a mass scale without the permission of the authorities, bypassing the frontier guard posts. Then it directed the *huaqiao* to return to Vietnam in disorderly crowds, illegally crossing the frontier. When the government of Vietnam took the necessary measures, Peking raged against Vietnam, accusing it of harassing Chinese residents and demanding unquestioning obedience to China's orders. Even before these developments the Chinese government unilaterally cut off all economic aid to Vietnam.

At the same time Peking urged its vassal state Kampuchea to carry out one armed attack on Vietnam after another. It also provoked the Meo, Dyao and Dyai national minorities inhabiting the northern provinces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam bordering on China to flee the country. It was established that Peking agents had told them:

"China is about to attack Vietnam and all the small nationalities living in the frontier areas will be exterminated."

In Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) in South Vietnam an attempt was made to organise an anti-government conspiracy. The conspirators were Chinese acting on instructions received from the Chinese embassy in the Vietnamese capital, Hanoi.

Chinese armed forces began to violate the 1,200-kilometre Vietnamese frontier. They provoked bloody clashes in one place after another. In the period from 1974 to 1977 the Vietnamese recorded 2,200 Chinese provocations in frontier areas. Chi-

nese military planes invaded Vietnamese air space and Chinese naval ships intruded into its territorial waters—1,500 such incidents are on record. Chinese engineers began to build fortifications along the frontier. Gangs of raiders formed of frenzied *huaqiao* performed outrages all over the country. After a sally they would retreat into Chinese territory.

In the neighbouring People's Democratic Republic of Laos American stooge General Vang Pao helped form insurgent detachments from the Meo highland tribesmen. Peking even considered the idea of creating an "independent Meo state" in the territories of Laos and Vietnam.

It was learned that the campaign against Vietnam had been planned down to the minutest detail. The operation was being conducted according to a pattern devised by professional colonialists in Asia. But Peking had learnt a few things itself in the course of such operations. Even some of the old colonial hands in London, Washington and Paris were surprised by what Peking did. But this was only a prelude.

On February 17, 1979, several Chinese army corps totalling about half a million officers and men with hundreds of tanks and powerful artillery support invaded Vietnam along the entire length of its northern frontier without declaring war. The whole world, including the capitalist countries, was stunned. Washington alone, it appears, had been secretly informed in advance. Deng Xiaoping who had been there on a visit several days before must have given the US government advance notice of this action. It was the Deng Xiaoping who had previously attempted to buy Vietnam for 1,000 million dollars. Thus China's secret alliance with America aiming at the conquest of South-East Asia was already being implemented in practice.

For two and a half weeks the Chinese invaders, obviously counting on impunity for their actions, forced their way into the country, relentlessly bombarding villages and towns, plundering and killing the civilian population that had been taken by surprise. They also made short work of prisoners-of-war. Maoist China was no longer trying to disguise its intentions, it was showing its true face. A special division formed of *huaqiao* who had fled from Vietnam was thrown into action in Vietnamese uniform. Many of the actions of the Chinese recall practices the Hitlerites employed in nazi-occupied territory during the Second World War. The purpose of the invasion was obvious. The Chinese wanted to drive a deep wedge into Vietnam and force it to surrender. Another aim was to intimidate the other countries of South-East Asia and to "condition" them to obey Chinese orders in the future.

But the Vietnamese army and people dealt a powerful rebuff to the invader. There was a worldwide storm of indignation. The Soviet government firmly declared its readiness to honour its obligations under the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. These factors compelled China to announce on March 5, 1979, that it would withdraw its forces. Right until the last Chinese unit withdrew from Vietnamese soil Chinese troops were plundering the population wholesale and committing murder and atrocities just as the SS did in its day. During the Chinese occupation everything of material and cultural value was ravaged, homes were destroyed. The Chinese army pursued a "scorched earth" policy in Vietnam.

In May 1979 it was learned that China was concentrating troops on its frontier with Laos. It was stepping up reconnaissance and sabotage activities

in the area and provoking national minority groups to take part in plots and anti-government actions.

Though Chinese aggression against Vietnam was stemmed in 1979, China is still trying to fan the conflict. The order to bring Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to their knees and thus facilitate China's breakthrough into other parts of South-East Asia is still in force. The fact is that Indo-China alone will not appease China's appetite.

Since the sixties China has been directly threatening several other states in the peninsula, namely Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore, as well as Indonesia and the Philippines. Before the war these countries were either part of the British, Dutch and US colonial empires or lay within their sphere of influence. Now a new claimant to hegemony is trying to force his way into them.

Burma. In 1956 China attempted to annex 170,000 square kilometres of Burmese territory, that is to say, a quarter of the whole country. Since then China has gone to extreme lengths to weaken Burma's state independence from within. It has resorted to methods that even old-time colonialists knew nothing about.

Here too the Chinese used their Trojan horses. Just as in Vietnam, there are over a million *huqiao* in Burma. In the late sixties Chinese schoolboys and students were formed into *hungweiping* hooligan gangs. The Chinese radio openly called on the people to overthrow the Burmese government. Reinforced by Chinese servicemen the separatist detachments and gangs of feudal lords in the north-eastern part of the country engaged the Burmese army. It was found that China had organised bases for the insurgents, schools for training their personnel and also weapon depots in Yunnan, a province in South China bordering on Burma.

Since the Chinese-Burmese frontier extends over more than 1,000 kilometres and China has built roads from the hinterland to Burma, it is hard for the Burmese authorities to destroy the insurgent detachments of the separatists. Operations are still proceeding. The pro-Maoist White Flag organisation has organised strikes and acts of terrorism even in Rangoon, the Burmese capital.

While continuing these underhand activities, China is paying diplomatic compliments to Burma. When Deng Xiaoping visited Rangoon in February 1978, he expressed China's "warmest feelings of fraternal friendship and good-neighbourliness" to the Burmese government.

At the time, the Associated Press News Agency commented that Burma was another instance of China's contradictory policy in South-East Asia, or, as the Burmese say, of its attempt "to carry a firebrand in one hand and a firebucket in the other". China supported the Burmese rebels and at the same time flirted with the government these rebels were trying to overthrow, the agency remarked.

In actual fact there are no contradictions in China's policy. Quite the opposite, there is a kind of consistency: one element (diplomatic overtures) complements another (subversive activities within a country). The aim of both elements is to help seize the country sooner or later. Burma is still being besieged. Why do the Chinese want to take it over?

China is not only eager to get Burmese oil, tin, tungsten, zinc, lead, uranium, rice, opium and everything else that drew British imperialists to Burma. China is even more interested in Burma's strategic position. Burma lies close to Vietnam and on the very border of India.

China is playing the same double-dealing game with other countries in South-East Asia. Assurances

of friendship mingle with the plotting of rebellion.

The Philippines. In relation to Burma this country lies in the opposite corner of South-East Asia. It is rich in iron, copper, chrome, nickel, zinc, gold, silver, rice, sugar, coconut oil and copra. It has a population of 42,500,000, including four million Moslems (many of whom are strongly gripped by separatist sentiments) and about half a million Chinese. The inspirer of separatism is China, to which Islam is alien. In the northern regions of the Philippines an underground "new people's army" is being incited by Chinese agents and supplied with Chinese-made arms.

The Philippines were under Spanish rule for a very long time. Then they were dominated by the US and won independence only after the Second World War. The country has never had anything in common with China either politically or culturally. It is separated from the Asian continent by a distance of 750 kilometres. But the Philippines lie in a strategically important area. They are close to Vietnam on the other side of the South China Sea. And the Chinese General Staff regards this sea as its inland lake.

Thailand. Lying between Burma, Laos and Kampuchea, it has a population of 43,600,000. Though there are fewer Chinese—only 400,000—in Thailand than in Vietnam or Burma, all trade is in their hands. A pro-Chinese organisation has been staging acts of violence. In September 1978 it leaked out that the Chinese embassy in Thailand had convened a meeting of local *huaqiao* for the "issue of instructions". It was attended by more than 1,000 representatives of big companies, banks and Chinese national minority associations. The Chinese ambassador urged his audience to cooperate actively in implementing Chi-

nese policy in South-East Asia. He fiercely attacked those that were "trying to sow discord and discontent".

Thailand is important to China not only because it is rich in natural resources, such as rice, rubber, lead, tin, manganese and timber. If China were to succeed in bringing Thailand into its sphere of influence, the Chinese threat to Burma and Laos would sharply increase. China could also strengthen its positions in the Gulf of Siam. That is why the Chinese ambassador to Bangkok has been so active. Every Chinese diplomat is working assiduously in his own strategic sector.

Malaysia. This country with a population of 12,250,000 lies on the southern fringes of the region. More than a third of the inhabitants of Malaysia are Chinese. And they hold key positions in the national economy. The state religion here is Islam. Though Malaysia has no common historical roots with China, it has rubber, oil, iron ore, bauxite and its situation in the South-China Sea near the Strait of Malacca—the main route to the Indian Ocean.

In Malaysia there is an underground pro-Peking organisation operating under a "Communist Party" banner. It stages uprisings and operates together with similar detachments of saboteurs in Thailand. These activities are still continuing, despite the fact that in the early seventies Zhou Enlai solemnly promised the government of Malaysia that China would "not support" Maoist elements in the country. But the "China-Geographical Essays" handbook published in Peking describes the Malaysian island of Cengmu and the nearby atolls as "China's southernmost point". This island lies in the South-China Sea which washes the shores of Vietnam from the oppo-

site direction. Here too we find China making the same calculations.

Singapore. This small republic with a population of 2,300,000 (three out of every four inhabitants being Chinese) borders on Malaysia. The island is also of great commercial and strategic importance. Subversive elements of the same Maoist trend are, of course, active here too.

Over a period of many years Peking has been involved in an extensive and extremely risky gamble in a bid to draw *Indonesia*, the largest country in South-East Asia, into its sphere of influence. Indonesia with a population of 145 million is rich in oil, tin, bauxite, nickel, copper and coal. Indonesia's position in the Strait of Malacca and the Java Sea is of great strategic importance. The Chinese leaders apparently believe that if they secure Indonesia, the game in South-East Asia will be half won.

Directly incited by Peking the pro-Maoists plotted a conspiracy in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, in 1967. Their aim was to seize power and create a Peking-Jakarta axis which would cut across the whole of South-East Asia. As a result of this gamble hundreds of thousands of Indonesian patriots were executed. But the failure of the plot did not put an end to China's scheming against Indonesia.

In November 1977 the Indonesian authorities reported that about a million persons of Chinese nationality had entered the country illegally through a neighbouring state. They settled in various towns and cities as prospering merchants, businessmen and owners of entertainment establishments. They also arrived as tourists and sailors. Organisations camouflaged as "travel agencies" received the illegal Chinese immigrants and helped "legalise" them in the country. Underground syndicates operating in Hongkong, Macao and Singapore were involved in

the "business" outside Indonesia, supplying the illegal immigrants with forged identity cards, passports and driving licenses. Among the new arrivals there were quite a few Chinese agents who had received special training.

Before this influx of illegal immigrants began there were three million Chinese living in Indonesia. They controlled 80 per cent of the national economy and domestic trade. These inroads look very much like a bid at the gradual and "invisible" conquest of a country from within. In July 1978 *Merdeka*, a leading Indonesian paper, wrote:

"Why are we often indifferent to the Chinese taking over our economy, winning the confidence of our country's leaders and entangling the latter in their nets?... If we wish to retain our independence, we must stand on our own feet and not on foreign-made crutches."

Thus, every country in South-East Asia has been considered here. And there is not one in which the Chinese militarists are not involved. The seizure of this huge and very rich region is mission No. 1 in the plans for a Maoist empire.

It is true, as will be shown below, that the authors of these plans still have to reckon with the fact that they are not yet in a position to gain control over South-East Asia unassisted. The peoples of the region refuse to yield to Chinese militarism. And China's own potentialities and political possibilities are not yet sufficient for it to take forceful action against several hundred million people. Hence China's attempts to establish closer relations with the ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) countries and Japan. Peking has almost openly proposed to the US and Japan that they divide up this sphere of influence.

But these moves by China do not alter the essence of its plans. Peking's efforts to conclude a deal with the US and Japan do not mean that it has abandoned its long-term plan for conquering South-East Asia. It is a tactical manoeuvre calculated for only a certain period of time. The plans to seize twelve or thirteen countries in this region and, in particular, the idea of encircling Vietnam are still operational.

That was why Peking flared up in a violent rage when the Soviet Union and Vietnam signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in November 1978. Peking clearly saw that this treaty not only served to strengthen Soviet-Vietnamese relations, but also to preserve peace and security in the *whole* of South-East Asia. And it is precisely this that the Maoists are unwilling to accept under any circumstances.

The USSR stated outright that it favoured the creation of a "peace zone" in South-East Asia and was prepared to discuss this matter with all the countries concerned, including China. But Peking made no response to this proposal.

Chapter Three

INTRIGUES AGAINST INDIA AND CONSPIRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The operations to be undertaken in the second, westerly direction—as envisaged in Peking's plan for a great Asian empire—present more difficulty for China than those in the southerly direction. The westerly direction points to the Himalayas. Here the object of attack is India, a great Asian power, the largest country on the continent after the USSR and China.

The Chinese militarists are forced to take note that India which has accumulated a wealth of experience in fighting against its British oppressors will not go down on its knees before the new empire builders. Yet unless they gain control of the Indian Ocean and the Himalayas the Peking leaders cannot hope to create an empire in practice. The reason why they passionately hate democratic India is that it stands in their way.

Regardless of what Peking may declare about maintaining good relations with India, it has not abandoned its intention of making short work of that country when the time is opportune. India was never a vassal state of the Chinese emperors. But the Peking politicians in their plans for an Asian empire have gone much farther than their feudal predecessors. Conquest of the huge country with its 615 mil-

lion inhabitants beyond the Himalayas is a component part of the adventurist plans for an empire which the Maoists have concocted. For the time being, however, the Chinese leaders are trying to keep the main objective of their plans a secret.

On this flank they are planning two simultaneous moves—one within and the other outside India. The first move is designed to split the unity of the Indian state by collusion with separatist tribes and pro-Maoist organisations in the north-eastern part of the country. The second move envisages the encirclement of India in a manner similar to that of Vietnam. Both manoeuvres were started under Mao Ze-dong.

In 1959 Peking laid claim to 130,000 square kilometres of Indian territory in the Himalayan region. Three years later Chinese troops seized 23,000 square kilometres of that territory. At the time Chinese agents established contact with the chieftains of the Naga and Mizo highland tribes that inhabit the states of Nagaland, Manipur and Assam bordering on China, and with separatists in the state of Sikkim.

The Chinese agents supplied them with arms, ammunition and money and urged them to call for the creation of "a new independent state of Nagaland" bordering on China, Burma and Bangladesh, the state of Mizo and the state of Sikkistan. *Renmin ribao* unambiguously threatened the dismemberment of India by creating puppet states. Similar links were established with various "leftist" groups in the states of Uttar-Pradesh, West Bengal and several other Indian states.

China is still inciting various tribes to rebel. Thus in July 1978 the Indian authorities in the state of Manipur detained a group of saboteurs who had been trained in China. In addition to promoting secession of the state from India, they had been in-

structed to assassinate army officers and state officials. An important Chinese intelligence officer who posed as a deaf mute was detained in the state of Jammu. In March 1978 the Indian press reported that in addition to generous supplies of arms Peking had been granting the warlike Naga and Mizo tribes sizable subsidies for conducting subversive activities in the north-eastern part of the country.

These steps are being taken under the guise of defending the highlanders and poor peasants. But in actual fact the aim is to make hidden inroads into another country to prepare bridgeheads there for future military operations. In reporting on this an Indian paper warned its readers of Peking's fundamental foreign policy principle which is most aptly summed up in the saying: "It does not matter whether the cat is black or white so long as it catches mice."

At one time the Maoists sought to take action in India's major centres through "leftist" organisations which they supported. But in time these organisations came to realise the extremely perfidious nature of Chinese policy. On the other hand, the press of the Jana Sangh right-wing party in India began to play up various Maoist slogans. As you see, the Peking theorists do not care whether the cat is black or white so long as it has claws.

The Chinese are penetrating states bordering on India or entering into collusion with them with a view to encircling India. The operations for encirclement are being carried out step by step. Peking is putting pressure on Nepal and Bangladesh from the North and North-East. Strong pro-Maoist groups are active in these two countries.

In July 1978 the influential Indonesian paper *Merdeka* pointed out that China regarded Nepal as a "jumping off ground for an advance on India from the North". In the sixties the Kodari-Katmandu high-

way was built. It can be used for moving Chinese troops from Tibet to India via Nepal. Mao Zedong once said:

"Tibet is the palm of China's hand, and Ladakh (a mountain range to the north of the Himalayas-E.H.), Nepal, Bhutan (a state in the southern part of the eastern Himalayas-E.H.), Sikkim and Nagaland are its four fingers and thumb."

In their day the strategists of British and Japanese imperialism used precisely the same language in referring to Asian countries. There is no essential difference here.

Bangladesh. China openly intimidated this country with its population of 81 million. In 1972, that is to say, one year after Bangladesh was established, the Chinese delegation vetoed its admission to the United Nations. It did so in violation of the principle of the universal character of the UN. Circles close to the government of Bangladesh commented on this step as follows:

"China seeks to use the subcontinent (of Hindustan-E.H.) as a chessboard for pursuing power politics."

At the time pro-Peking groups of the conventional sabotage type appeared in Bangladesh. They performed acts of terrorism, committed bank robberies and attacked police stations under the guise of conducting "revolutionary struggle". In a message to Mohammed Toha, ringleader of one of the gangs, the Chinese leaders suggested that the saboteurs in Bangladesh should "coordinate their actions" with the "leftist" extremists of West Bengal, an Indian state bordering on Bangladesh, and organise anti-Indian actions. In 1976 Mohammed Toha's group came into the open and began activities in the interests of China. It urged that Bangladesh should co-operate with China and Pakistan against India.

In their approach to India from the North-West the Chinese leaders are staking on *Pakistan* which they hope to set against its neighbour once again. In order to provoke another conflict, they are trying to re-kindle the old dispute over Kashmir. As early as the summer and autumn of 1965 China was unsparing in its efforts to foment hostilities between Pakistan and India. It promised the Pakistan leaders "any aid" at "any time" and assured them of China's "eternal friendship". Indian observers frankly say that China and Pakistan secretly agreed to turn their cold war against India into a hot war and that Peking wants to arm Pakistan to the detriment of India. They say that Mao's strategy is obvious. He was bent on drawing the continent into strife and violence to force his philosophy upon millions of people driven to despair in the region.

After Pakistan and India signed an agreement, China attempted to hinder its implementation. The hindering still continues.

The hidden aspect of these intrigues is clear. Peking has drawn up plans for a future attack on India through Pakistan. This was confirmed by the opening in 1978 of the 800-kilometre Karakorum highway connecting China with Pakistan through Xinjiang. The road was laid by Chinese and Pakistani military engineers. A stretch of the highway passes through parts of Jammu and Kashmir which Pakistan once occupied.

Addressing the Indian Parliament in July 1978 India's Minister of Defence said the building of the Karakorum highway close to the Indian frontier had created a new situation in South Asia, and if the road were used for military purposes, a "very critical situation" would arise. Such words are not idly spoken. The minister further said that India had not surrendered the 23,000 square kilometres of

its territory which China still occupied. India was seeking to settle the question peacefully but it would not accept any compromise to the detriment of its national interests and security.

The building of the Karakorum highway strengthens China's positions in Pakistan itself. One only has to take a look at the map. India's capital, Delhi, lies only 400 kilometres from the Chinese frontier. A similar distance separates it from the frontier with Pakistan.

China made attempts to surround India from the South, from the Indian Ocean. In the early seventies China took steps to "obtain a lease" on port facilities at Trincomalee in Sri Lanka. The aim was to build a base there from which it could launch ballistic missiles towards India and other countries of South-East Asia. The intentions of Peking in Sri Lanka were so cynical that in November 1974 the leaders of a pro-Maoist group in that country, A. Jayasuria and S. Ranasinghe, were forced to declare:

"We are through with Maoism."

At the present time Peking is wary of undertaking open provocations against India. It is waiting for a more opportune moment. It has even tried to woo India. But that is its regular tactic—to embrace before attacking. Yet despite all its manoeuvres that part of Chinese plans for a great empire which is devoted to the conquest of India has not been abandoned.

Now let us cast a look further West. Until recently it seemed as if China's advance towards the Middle East had been written only in draft form. There were many factors indicating that even the most reckless politicians in Peking hardly counted on making deep inroads in that direction before their plans in South-East Asia had at least in part been

realised. But, this is not so. The summer of 1978 revealed that the Chinese capital had established links even with that region.

This was shown above all by the active extremist pro-Chinese groups which sprang up in various countries during the last twenty years like mushrooms after a shower. This was further shown—even more convincingly—by the readiness of the Maoists to undertake action, whenever required to, under "pro-Moslem" and "pro-Arab" slogans. The Peking leaders had no end of slogans and flags for their imperial plans. It was no accident that Mao Zedong once said in a reference to the prophet Mohammed:

"He conquered the world holding the Koran in his left hand and a sword in his right."

The Chinese militarists care least of all what they may have to hold in their left hand—"Sinified" Marxism, pan-Asianism or even Islam. This is confirmed by their current operations in Arab countries.

Only a short while ago many of those who still believed the Maoists spoke of the ardent support the latter were rendering to the national liberation and progressive movements in the Arab East. Today these people can hardly believe their own eyes. They now see that China is above all seeking to establish closer relations with the rightists and even extreme rightists.

In Egypt Peking supports President Sadat, who split the united front of Arab states. Abdessalam Ahmed Jalloud, one of the Libyan leaders, publicly confirmed this in August 1978, voicing the hope that Peking would review its attitude towards Sadat. In a different area of the Middle East, on the shores of the Arabian Sea, Oman guerrillas were until recently counting on Chinese aid. But in the

summer of 1978 China concluded a deal with Sultan Kabus, a most reactionary Arab ruler.

Moreover, there are rumours that there may even be a rapprochement between China and Saudi Arabia, a stronghold of reaction in the Arab East. In the summer of 1978 the neighbouring progressive People's Democratic Republic of Yemen found out that China acting together with Western circles was backing Salem Rubayi Ali, who was hatching a counterrevolutionary coup d'état.

Is China at least aiding the national-liberation movement of the Palestinian Arabs? It is indeed paying lip service to it. But it has given it no actual aid. It is supporting a Palestinian group, but by no means a progressive one. Peking has indeed tried to recruit Palestinians into its own service. It is also true that Peking is actually helping to split the Arab forces.

On September 21, 1978, for instance, *Renmin ribao* wrote that the Egyptian people "uphold Sadat's efforts in the interests of peace in the Middle East."

As early as 1975 *L'Orient-Le Jour*, a Lebanese paper, wrote:

"China has been dealing consistent blows at the revolutionary movements operating in the Arab world."

Why has China been acting in this way? Apparently because it is more concerned with securing strategic positions near the Persian Gulf than with helping the Arabs. It is interested in gaining a foothold in the western part of the Indian Ocean. This means that to achieve this goal and, perhaps, to lay hands on Arab oil into the bargain, China is prepared to sacrifice the interests of the Arabs at any moment.

What have sultans, Saudi feudal lords and Egyptian politicians got to do with the Chinese? It would seem that they have no points of contact. Even the Chi-

nese emperors never reached so far out to the West. Even Genghiz Khan, whom Chinese propaganda praises as the builder of the Chinese empire, never ventured to move his hordes to the Arab East. In the course of their history the Arabs have suffered enough from the Seljuks and Osmans, and then from British and other imperialists, as well as from their own feudal lords. They have now entered upon a period of determined struggle for their national and social resurgence. Is it in their interests to become involved in China's strategic schemes in Asia?

That China is scheming here in pursuit of its selfish aims is confirmed by its policy with respect to Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan—three Asian states bordering on the Arab East. Until recently it was the Western imperialist powers and CENTO, a bloc these powers had hammered together, which mainly operated in that area. Now China has suddenly made its appearance on the scene, and with a lot of clamour too. What does it want here?

Turkey. A member-country of NATO, whose generals regard it as a jumping off ground for an attack on the USSR "from the South". The year 1978 showed that China was keeping in step with the reactionary forces here too. Under Chinese influence extremist student groups are acting together with right-wing organisations to start street disturbances in Ankara, Izmir, Stambul and Gaziantep. In June 1978 Huang Hua, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Ankara and, to judge from press reports, tried to persuade the Turkish government that the USSR was "especially dangerous" and that Turkey should therefore maintain closer relations with China. On this occasion Peking was obviously wanting to gain strategic positions on the southern shore of the Black Sea.

A similar policy was pursued towards *Iran*, lying South of the Caspian Sea. In 1978 Hua Guofeng himself visited Teheran for talks with the Iranian government. The content of those talks remained unknown. But some reports mentioned *Afghanistan* as one of the themes discussed. Afghanistan is a young democratic state bordering on Iran, Pakistan, India and Soviet Central Asia.

Soon it leaked out that certain foreign circles were lending support to counterrevolutionary groups in Afghanistan, relying on the Moslem Brothers, a right-extremist organisation, and on separate groups of Afghan Shi'ite clergy. In the summer of 1978 the Afghan authorities managed to eliminate a number of terroristic saboteur groups which had been illegally sent into the country from across the frontier. It turned out that some of the arms and equipment captured from the conspirators was made in China. In 1979 it was established that some of these groups had been trained in China and that Peking was inciting various subversive, above all Maoist, elements inside Afghanistan to hostile actions. At the same time it took steps to foil peaceful relations between Pakistan and Iran, on the one hand, and Afghanistan, on the other.

Years ago Great Britain and Germany tried to gain a foothold in the Middle East in pursuit of their imperialist aims. Drawn by the smell of oil and the prospect of military bases close to the USSR, the United States tried to play the same game after the Second World War. Now China has actively joined in it in pursuit of its imperial interests. China cannot yet play an important role in the region. The American imperialists and their allies still hold the initiative in the camp of the anti-popular forces. And in any case China's main attention is focussed on South-East Asia.

But there is no doubt the Maoists have included the Middle East in the sphere of influence of their Asian superpower. In this particular sector their aim is to gain a foothold in the western part of the Indian Ocean and to get closer to the southern frontiers of the Soviet Union, which maintains friendly relations with Vietnam and India.

That is why Chinese hotbeds are now appearing not only in South-East Asia and round India, but also in the Middle East. There is reason to believe that China is joining hands with the US in the game here.

Chapter Four

FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN TO THE BERING SEA

Peking's strategic plans in a southerly and westerly direction from China are indeed fantastic. But in respect of the third strategic direction—to the North—their intentions are adventurist to the extreme.

Here they are throwing down a very sinister challenge to history. Here China's policy is spearheaded directly against the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic.

There is no doubt that more than just border disputes concern Peking. It will be recalled that in a conversation with Japanese politicians in 1964 Mao Zedong said that Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and Kamchatka became Russian territory "only a hundred years ago". He further pointed out:

"We have not yet submitted the bill for this list."

You must look at the map to see what he actually meant. He implied that China would like not only to annex the Soviet Far East with its two main centres and the territory bordering on the Sea of Japan, but also to force its way farther to the North through Siberia to the Bering Sea.

This constitutes another part of China's plans for recarving the map of Asia.

It is worth noting that not so long ago Japanese militarists indulged in similar dreams. But here the

Maoists are following in the footsteps of earlier Chinese conquerors. In 1973 Zhang Yanzan, an adherent of Chiang Kai-shek, published a book in Taiwan claiming that Siberia derived its name from the Syanpi, who were the earliest aborigines of China. He asserted that the Syanpi "occupied the basin of the River Yenisei in the Stone Age". In other words, China's rights to Siberia date back to the Stone Age.

No wonder Soviet people are indignant with the policy of the Maoists. They are outraged at the intentions of those whom the USSR always treated as friends and with whom it shared all it had.

In August 1945 in Manchuria and Korea the Soviet Union routed the million-strong Kwantung Army composed of crack Japanese troops and it drove the Japanese invaders from the continent. Thus it was the USSR that enabled China to stand on its feet again. This is shown by facts that even the Chinese dare not dispute. Manchuria became the base of China's revolutionary forces. The Soviet military command then handed over to the Chinese Communists all the arms and equipment Soviet forces had captured from the Kwantung Army. This included 3,700 guns and mortars, 600 tanks, 860 aircraft, 12,000 machine guns, all the ships of the Japanese Sungari naval flotilla, and 680 military depots.

Moreover, Soviet experts helped form and train an 800,000-strong Chinese army which later constituted the striking force and played a decisive role in the subsequent defeat of the counterrevolutionary forces in China.

Mao Zedong said later:

"...If the Soviet Union had not existed, if Japanese imperialism had not been defeated, could we have gained victory under the circumstances? Of course not!"

The Soviet Union's assistance was not limited to military aid alone. After the war the USSR helped China revive its economic life, because everything was in a state of dislocation. The USSR granted China a credit of 2,000 million roubles on easy terms, it helped China build 256 large factories and plants which now form the backbone of its industry. That was how new factories, plants, railways, bridges and lines of communication appeared and the manufacture of tractors, motor vehicles, turbines and aircraft began.

Soviet organisations handed over to China 24,000 sets of scientific and technical documents, including the designs of 1,400 large enterprises—all free of charge. Foreign experts have estimated that China would have had to pay many thousands of millions of dollars to buy such documentation on the world market. In the period from 1950 to 1960 over 10,000 Soviet specialists were sent to China to pass on their experience to Chinese colleagues. Twenty thousand Chinese workers, engineers and scientific research workers were trained in the Soviet Union. In 1959 *Renmin ribao*, the leading Maoist newspaper, wrote: "The Soviet Union's aid to economic development of our country is on a scale without precedent in history."

And this is true.

In China today all this appears to have been forgotten. Peking pretends that all this never happened and speaks of the USSR as the age-old enemy of China. Yet every Chinese was aware at the time of the tremendous military, political and economic aid the USSR gave to China. It is hard to say what might have happened to China if it had not received this aid. No political observer and no historian can say with confidence that China would have been able to get on its feet again.

How could people who claim to be fighters for socialism forget all this? How could they become fanatical enemies of the Soviet Union? How could they start harassing the USSR and the whole of the socialist community with frenzied, even pathological hatred?

Many years ago Soviet military adviser S. N. Naumov visited the home of Chinese Marshal Feng Yuhsiang together with Li Ta-chao, one of the founders and leaders of the Communist Party of China, who was assassinated by counterrevolutionaries in 1927. S. N. Naumov could not help noticing the so-called "Map of China's Disgrace" hanging on the wall in the marshal's home. The map showed the Soviet Far East as territory taken from China. When S. N. Naumov drew Li Ta-chao's attention to the map, the latter said:

"Do not forget that there may come a time in China when people not only like Marshal Feng Yuhsiang but also people with Communist Party cards will share his views..."

S. N. Naumov recorded these words in his notebook.

Li Ta-chao proved to be right. Such a time has come. And such people have appeared. Both Mao Zedong and the present Chinese leaders are people for whom Marxism is only a thin veil cloaking rabid chauvinism. During the Second World War, when the Soviet Union was defending the ideals and the cause of socialism at the cost of the lives of its sons and daughters, Mao Zedong and his followers were speaking of the "inevitable defeat of the USSR" and of its "fallacious strategy". They believed that they could take aid from the USSR while not responding with friendly understanding and not showing solidarity with it.

The question arises: how does Peking intend to annex such vast Soviet territories in Asia?

Perhaps it is just talk?

No, by no means. The Peking leaders have been following a specific policy in pursuit of their plans for extending their empire in a northerly direction. Over a period of many years they have spared no pains to involve the USSR in war with the West. At first they tried to achieve their ends by putting direct pressure on the USSR.

Let us look at recent history. Let us recall events the present generation has witnessed.

In 1957 the Soviet Union put into orbit the world's first artificial satellite. It was precisely then that Mao Zedong proposed suspending peaceful socialist construction in order to engage in a trial of strength. Addressing the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries in Moscow he tried to prove that such a showdown would benefit socialism and that the risk of the annihilation of half mankind in a world war should be ignored. He said that "...in another fifty years' time or a century the world population will be restored even by more than half..."

In 1958 the Chinese government ordered the army to organise a "punitive expedition" in the Taiwan Strait and to start massive bombardment of the Mazudao and Jinshendao inshore islands that were occupied by the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. Contrary to the principles governing relations between socialist countries Peking issued this order without consulting the Soviet government. The US command immediately massed its armed forces in the region and put them on battle alert. Later it became known that in launching this operation the Maoist leaders had considered the outbreak of a "local war" with the use of atomic weapons to be quite possible. This

implied that at some stage of such a war the Soviet Union would have been involved in it.

In 1959 the Maoists brought their conflict with India to a direct armed clash in the Himalayas. They calculated that the Indian government of the day would turn to the US for military aid and that the Soviet Union would support China.

The year 1960 saw another Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. In his speech the Chinese representative demanded that the policy of peaceful coexistence be abandoned and that it should be replaced by a policy of "brinkmanship". He also called for a "decisive battle" against imperialism. At the same time he urged the socialist countries to strengthen China's military-strategic potential.

In 1962 the aggressive intentions of the US against Cuba sparked off the Caribbean crisis. From day to day the crisis could have grown into a worldwide armed conflict. At that very moment Peking renewed and extended its military operations against India. A grave threat of war arose in that region. Peking again calculated that the Soviet Union would abandon peaceful coexistence and in one way or another be drawn into a clash with the United States. Three years later, in 1965, the US interventionists had further escalated the war against Vietnam. The Soviet Union was doing its utmost to aid Vietnam with equipment. The Chinese leaders, as mentioned above, were doing everything to hinder the shipment of military supplies from the socialist countries to Vietnam by land via China. Their aim was to compel the USSR to send these consignments by sea so as to provoke a clash between Soviet vessels and the US Seventh Fleet sailing off the coast of Vietnam. They also made further attempts to fan large-scale war in South Asia and to involve the Soviet Union in it.

Six specific cases have been cited. We could have cited many more. Each one of them has been recorded in history.

Why did the Maoists do this? Why did they persistently seek to plunge Europe and America into a war of self-destruction?

The answer is clear enough. They were above all eager to get a free hand in Asia. The Maoist general staff believed—and still believe—that in the event of a Third World War in which China could stand aside they would be able to seize other Asian countries and complete the creation of the Chinese empire in Asia.

That was what the Maoists based their calculations on. In a talk with his old acquaintance—the journalist Edgar Snow—in 1965 Mao Zedong said that, though other peoples might be completely annihilated in an atomic war, there would be several hundred million people left in China who could start off again from zero. In this case zero meant Asia.

Two years before that A. Guerriero, commentator of the Italian journal *Epoca*, offered a more precise explanation of the Maoist plan. He emphasised that in an atomic conflict the belligerents would seek to destroy each other, whereas "the Chinese would remain aloof from the conflict. China... would eventually become master of a world in ruins."

In other words, the ultimate aim of the Maoists is world domination. But in the meanwhile their aim is to conquer Asia in order to use its resources to attack countries on other continents.

Mao Zedong and his followers in the nationalist grouping of the Communist Party of China, including the present Chinese leaders, knew from the outset that the USSR would not help them build up an Asian empire. This was yet another reason for a hostile attitude towards the USSR on their part. The

third strategic direction-expansion to the North—stems from this. That is why they have been constantly urging the Western powers to prepare for war against the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. In the fifties and sixties the Peking leaders urged the USSR to break with the West. Now they are urging the West to break off relations with the USSR. But the essence of China's policy and its aims remain the same.

China's moves in the world arena are widely known. Hardly a day passes without the Peking leaders trying to aggravate the international situation. China favours the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc which would include the US, Western Europe, Japan and China. China opposes detente and supports the further growth of armaments. China does not in fact want a ban on the atom bomb to be enforced. It supports the introduction of the neutron bomb. China is eager to increase tension in South-East Asia and to undermine socialism in the Balkans. That is how it is behaving all the time.

In October 1977 Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping said the time was ripe for uniting the whole world against the USSR, the principal enemy. He proposed making preparations not only "in the field of military equipment, but also in the sphere of ideology". He urged the capitalist countries to impose a commercial and economic blockade of the Soviet Union. For already half a century the capitalist world has not advanced such proposals. In January 1978 Hua Guofeng himself publicly declared the USSR to be the principal enemy and called on other countries to wage a struggle against it "to the very end". To what end?

In the course of two months in 1978 *Renmin ribao* published over a hundred anti-Soviet articles. It described the creation of a new "cordon sanitaire"

round the USSR as a cardinal task of the present time. China invited even the ASEAN member-countries in South-East Asia, namely, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore, to join the "united front", although these countries are maintaining normal relations with the USSR. It should also be mentioned that even the Chinese Constitution, adopted in 1975, is imbued with the spirit of anti-Sovietism.

That is how China is preparing to implement its plans for expansion in a northerly direction. It also intends to seize the Mongolian People's Republic.

China makes no secret of the fact that it regards the Mongolian People's Republic as its private domain. It has no grounds whatsoever for any such claim. The Mongolian People's Republic is an independent and sovereign country, like China itself. It existed long before the People's Republic of China was born. Yet in a talk with Edgar Snow back in 1936 Mao Zedong said that with the victory of the revolution in China the Mongolian People's Republic would automatically join China.

When people's rule was established with Soviet aid in China in 1949 the Maoists attempted to annex the Mongolian People's Republic. It is worth noting that they played this game behind the back of the Mongolian people and their government. When a Soviet delegation visited Peking five years later, the Chinese leaders suggested "arranging" the entry of the Mongolian People's Republic into China. This approach was again made behind Mongolia's back. In 1964 Mao Zedong again put forward this demand in a talk with a delegation of Japanese socialists. It was clear that Mao regarded Mongolia as a sort of vassal state of China, with which he could do what he liked.

Even before this Chinese living and working in Mongolia started a series of provocations in a manner similar to that seen in the countries of South-East Asia. In the period from 1962 to 1978 they committed about 500 such provocations and violations of public order. To create economic difficulties in Mongolia, China recalled its builders who had been working in the Mongolian People's Republic on the basis of agreements with China. Peking began to concentrate large forces along the Mongolian-Chinese frontier. At times units of the People's Liberation Army of China would enter Mongolian territory to a depth of 15-20 kilometres, carrying out reconnaissance and firing on grazing herds of cattle.

China's plan for conquering the Mongolian People's Republic by intimidation, threats and sabotage failed. The Soviet Union is an old and true friend of Mongolia and the Maoists know this. When in 1939 the Japanese army invaded the Mongolian People's Republic in the vicinity of Khalkhin Gol Soviet forces and the Mongolian army inflicted a crushing defeat on it. Of course, China will not dare attempt to take the Mongolian People's Republic by force.

Yet the case of Mongolia is a very important one. So I shall consider it in detail. In December 1978 I toured the country and in the following chapter I shall give the reader my impressions. In particular, I wish to touch upon developments in Inner Mongolia, which forms a part of China.

Chapter Five

THE CASE OF MONGOLIA

(Notes from a Diary)

...Ulan Bator is one of the most remarkable cities in modern Asia. Not so long ago it was the seat of the Khutukhta, the Divine High Lama, who was constantly being reborn in new incarnations. What was called the town was a large Buddhist monastery. Pilgrims came here from all over the country and traders concentrated their business around it. Today Ulan Bator is the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic. It is a state founded on the lands from which Genghiz Khan began his march to conquer the world.

In the recent past Mongolia was under the rule of a "living god". Forty per cent of the country's male population were monks doomed to an idle empty life in expectation of "reincarnation". Today it is a strong and thriving socialist state which is carrying through a fundamental reorganisation of its life. You cannot help feeling amazed by the rapid and bold changes taking place in our time.

What revolutionary (historic) changes are taking place in this country lying in the heart of Asia, between the mountain ranges of the Altais, Sayans and Greater Khingan and the Gobi Desert? Where shall I begin?

Everybody has his own particular interest. I could tell you of the current domestic problems facing the Mongolian People's Republic, of its economic achievements and of the tasks facing a people engaged in cultural advance. There is enough material to fill a book.

But I am above all a historian and a writer on international affairs. As I wander through Ulan Bator, I cannot help thinking of the past and future of the people who inhabit this vast plateau whose area is 50 per cent greater than that of France, Great Britain and Western Germany combined.

I was able gradually to reconstruct the story of an Asian people who had gone through hail, wind and storm to find itself on the verge of extinction. Their destiny had certainly been a strange one to the European mind.

The record of the "nomadic empire" from the time it was ruled by the Mongolian khans till it became the Mongolian People's Republic began with seven continuous centuries of inertness. Then after 1919 came three years which suddenly passed with hurricane force.

During those first seven hundred years—from the 13th to the 20th century—several social-political forces tried one after another to decide the destinies of the Mongols. These forces were the local feudal lords with their shamans and lamas, the Manchurian emperors with the same lamas and feudal lords, and the Chinese bourgeoisie. Each attempt ended in hardships for the people. None of them helped solve the basic national problem of the Mongolian people.

Stormclouds were steadily gathering over the country. At the turn of the century even friendly observers posed the question: Are not the Mongols wholly disappearing from the face of Asia? Will they survive or not?

It seemed that a nation which had once played a unique and outstanding role in the world arena was now remorselessly nearing extinction. Many Western experts held this view which was also shared by travelling explorers and scholars from tsarist Russia.

What had happened during these long centuries?

In the period from the 13th to the 17th century the country was ruled by the heirs of Genghiz Khan. They were savage truculent princelings of a nomadic people. Though they could neither read nor write, they had the best pastures, vast herds of horses and highly mobile detachments of armed horsemen. The only law in the land was their command. The right to move from one place to another, that is to say, the very existence of a nomadic people, depended on them too.

The overwhelming majority of the population was then engaged in a very primitive type of cattle-breeding. But two out of every five males who became lamas, that is to say, priests of the northern branch of Buddhism, were barred from engaging in any productive labour. Nor were they permitted to have wives or children. Every Mongol had to send at least one of his two sons to the monastery. The task of the lamas was to sustain the people's faith in the omnipotence of the princes and their disbelief, as Buddha required, in the possibility of earthly happiness. Here one could only suffer.

The people were taught to fear devils who roamed the plains at night to mislead wayfarers, they were taught to believe in winged dragons and in the holiness of the lamas in their red-and-yellow robes. It was claimed that the lamas could halt or accelerate the motion of celestial bodies and even halt the sun to make time stand still. It was believed that digging the soil to grow fruit was extremely dangerous

because this could lead to the wholesale decline of cattle.

There were hundreds of monasteries in the country—at one time they too were nomadic—which engaged in trade and accumulated tremendous wealth.

Though time passed nothing seemed to change. It appeared that the Middle Ages would never end, that they would continue for millions of years. The lamas, it seemed, had tethered the Sun.

Was it possible for lamas to do some real thinking, if only for themselves, for they were a kind of local intelligentsia? This was virtually impossible.

At the age of seven or eight the future lamas were separated from their families and taken to a monastery. Those who were to go through the higher school of theology had to study hard for 35 years. These lamas had to learn by heart five sacred books, each of 750 pages. It was considered that the limit, though physically unattainable, was to know by heart two treatises comprising 318 volumes, each of 700 pages.

The average lama could usually neither read nor write in Mongolian. He knew only the Tibetan written language. The ruling class had no national culture, nor did it want any. Nobody was allowed to think for himself.

Centuries passed in this way. One century exactly like another. At a time when not only Europe, but also many Asian peoples were making increasingly rapid progress, Mongolia was marking time with its eyes shut. It seemed the right thing for Mongolia.

The heirs of Genghiz Khan declared that they were unable to get the nation out of its impasse, to breathe new life into the country and give it access to world culture. By the end of the 17th century it was clear that by their rule the princes were only wearing down their people and exhausting their

strength. Having squandered nearly all that Genghiz Khan had won for their class in other lands, the princes forgot the art of warfare. They could not even defend the independence of their own country.

Their successors—the Manchurian feudal lords who attacked from North-East China—easily took the country over and began to run it in their own way. The conquerors remained in Mongolia for nearly 300 years—until 1911, when there was a revolution in China. Mongolia ceased to exist as an independent country. It had become a vast private domain of China.

Essentially nothing changed. If anything did change, it was only for the worse.

The fundamental law of life in the country under Chinese rule was the same—total spiritual stagnation.

There must be no new thinking, no desire for progress; just stand where you are, telling your rosary. People were forever being told that better times would come only after their souls had been reincarnated an infinite number of times, passing from one creature to another, until maybe many thousand centuries later it would finally attain a state of nirvana.

The Mongolian princes and khans were now under the protection of Chinese viceroys and officials. The lamas were left alone. Thousands of Chinese merchants and moneylenders moved into the country. They were particularly skilled in robbing the population. When a Mongol needed a loan to pay taxes, he had to pay interest on it at rates of from 30 to 100 per cent. Mongols even translate the word "Chinese" as "Naima-hun", which means "trading man".

The Mongolian herdsmen were now eternally in debt. The high-placed lamas were business partners of the Chinese merchants and even direct sharehol-

ders in their firms. In return they taught their own people to be thoroughly obedient to the Chinese authorities.

In an impoverished country the ruling class lived enjoying all that wealth could give its members, many of them literally gorging themselves with food. Just before Chinese rule was abolished Ivan Maisky, a Russian traveller who later became a Soviet diplomat, visited Outer Mongolia. He attended a dinner given in the city by a Chinese firm. He described it as follows:

"...The dinner consisted of 62 courses. This is no exaggeration. I made a point of counting all the dishes that were served. There was everything imaginable. The dinner began at noon and went on until seven in the evening. All this time the Chinese seated at the table were eating, drinking and eating again, relishing every dish and engaging in a very lively discussion of all its good and bad points. The discussions showed that many of those present at the dinner were real connoisseurs of food."

While the feudal lords and merchants gorged themselves, the indigenous Mongolian population continued to decrease in numbers. The emperor in Peking did not do a thing to stop the country's increasingly rapid ruin. The key national problem was how to get the country out of its medieval impasse, how to put it back on its feet. It still seemed an insoluble problem.

Soviet scholar L. M. Gataulina found that at the beginning of this century the feudal lords in Mongolia who constituted 7.8 per cent of the population owned 49.5 per cent of all the livestock. The poor herdsmen in fact maintained the princes, tended their herds and bore a heavy burden of obligations and taxes.

The country's economy was still based on nomadic livestock breeding over large areas. The livestock provided the people with food, clothing and fuel, with felt for their tents and means of transport. There was not a single factory, hospital or veterinary surgeon in the country.

As already said, Urga (now Ulan Bator), the capital, was actually a large monastery. The other towns were also monasteries or fortresses built by the Manchu-Chinese conquerors.

Mongolia had no currency. Officials received their salary in the form of pieces of silver and brick-tea. Though the country had only one school, it had over 700 monasteries and 100,000 lamas. Under pain of torture Lamaism forbade the Mongols to till the land, to extract minerals, to store fodder for the herds and to build houses instead of the traditional felt tents—*yurts*.

This was real feudalism, more extreme than at any time in Europe, without a ray of hope for the people. Only Tibet experienced anything comparable.

What future lay in store for the Mongols?

All the travellers and scholars agreed that the Mongols had no future. Back in 1883 Nikolai Przhevalsky, the Russian traveller and scientist, wrote that the Mongols would remain nomads for a long time to come, "until the fatal course of events leads them finally to complete extinction in the same way as the American and Australian aborigines are perishing before our eyes".

But, as it turned out, there was a course that was by no means fatal.

Another well-known Russian explorer, P. K. Kozlov, remarked: "The population of Mongolia is not increasing at all, rather, it is decreasing."

In his book "Unknown Mongolia" Alexander Carruthers, a British traveller, deliberated at length on the decline of the Mongoloid race.

Ivan Maisky, who visited the country two years before the overthrow of Chinese rule, wrote:

"On the eve of the 1911-1912 revolution Autonomous Mongolia was an outlying province of a vast decaying empire (the Chinese empire — E.H.), a remote backward province which was growing steadily poorer every year... It seemed the country's vital energy had been exhausted, as if it sensed its own approaching death and awaited the fatal hour with docile indifference..."

The conclusion to be drawn was that the nation faced nothing but extinction. Even the experts were in no doubt that the Mongols, worn down by their own and Chinese feudal lords, would soon totally disappear from the world scene.

But history, which always has a few cards up its sleeve, took its own decision here.

In 1921 everything in Mongolia suddenly seemed to be stirred into unprecedentedly rapid motion. A hurricane swept past the pastures and monasteries.

Although the authorities brought fresh Chinese military units into Outer Mongolia, although Chinese patrols paced the streets of Urga at night, the regime was crumbling like a house of cards. The Mongolian People's Party (later the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), headed by Sukhe Bator, son of a herdsman, took power.

In the middle of 1920 Sukhe Bator came to Moscow and met Lenin. Lenin's ideas reached the plains of Central Asia and in the lifetime of a single generation did for the Mongols what had not been accomplished during the seven previous centuries.

To live or not to live?

Roused from their feudal slumber the people said:

"To live—a thousand times, yes!"

Socialism and their friendship with Soviet Russia made this possible for the Mongolian people. They began the transition from feudalism to the new society, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

It was not the false "big leap" the Maoists announced to the whole world in the fifties—a "leap" from nothing into nothing. Mongolia was indeed effecting at an accelerated rate a politically and economically justified transition from a lower to a higher stage of development. The Mongols have proved that even "a country of herdsmen" can do it, provided it follows a sound policy.

But all this concerns Outer Mongolia, which is today the Mongolian People's Republic. Inner Mongolia, which lies to the South of the Mongolian People's Republic and remained under the rule of the old China, was not affected by the social revolution on the plateau.

What did the Maoists do with Inner Mongolia, when they assumed power there in 1947?

How did they solve the problem of the Mongols in their own country?

* * *

Mongols not only dwell in the Mongolian People's Republic, but have also long lived in China, in a region now known as the "Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia". Though this region is smaller in area than the Mongolian People's Republic, it is nevertheless larger than Spain, Italy, Sweden and Denmark taken together. And what is the size of the population?

According to the latest information Inner Mongolia has a population of about 11 million. But Mongols number a little over 300,000, only 2.7 per cent

of the population. When the autonomous region was established in 1947 there were 2,500,000 Mongols and persons of Mongolian descent.

Where are the other two million people?

What happened in Inner Mongolia, which has been a part of China for the last thirty years, after the Maoists came to power in Peking?

When the counterrevolutionary Kuomintang bourgeoisie were ruling China in the period from 1927 to 1948, everything was simple. Its leader Chiang Kai-shek deliberately continued the age-old policy of the Chinese emperors. The aim was the complete enslavement of the Mongol herdsmen by the Chinese—the chosen "master" race. In actual fact, if not in form, everything remained as in the time of the "Middle Kingdom".

If the opportunity arose, the Chiang Kai-shek clique hoped to seize the Mongolian People's Republic with the aid of the imperialists. That was why even after the Second World War they tried to oppose the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the UN, claiming that it was part of China. Soon after he came to power in 1927 Chiang Kai-shek had two leaders of the People's Revolutionary Party of Inner Mongolia executed. After that the party went underground.

When the People's Republic of China was established in 1949 Peking declared that the fundamental problem of the Mongolian people—that of surviving, while retaining their national features—would be solved once and for all in Inner Mongolia too. This seemed to mean that the Mongolian nation would experience a resurgence within the framework of socialist China, just as Mongols had experienced it in the neighbouring Mongolian People's Republic. The Communist policy on the nationalities question

which Lenin had formulated was to be the guarantee of this.

But events took a totally different turn.

There was downright deliberate deceit from the very beginning.

Long before this, in December 1935, the Chinese Communist Party leaders functioning in North China solemnly declared that they recognised the right of the people of Inner Mongolia to settle their own affairs, to form their own government and to develop relations with other nationalities.

Ten years later Soviet armed forces routed the Kwantung army of Japan and liberated the north-eastern part of China. In the wake of these events the Mongols living in the eastern regions of Inner Mongolia convened a congress at the monastery of Gegengsume and established their own autonomous government, instructing its members to carry out a broad programme of social and national modernisation.

But, as it turned out, somebody had said: "No!" This somebody was none other than Mao Zedong. It was on his orders that the decisions taken at Gegengsume were held to be invalid. But this was only a beginning.

Everything became clear in the sixties. A detailed programme was being implemented in Inner Mongolia, designed to liquidate the Mongolian nation. Peking treated this programme as if it were an urgent military operation.

The authorities struck four blows at the Mongols: at the common people, at Party and government personnel in Inner Mongolia, at Mongolian national culture and, finally, at the Mongolian people's economy.

During the "cultural revolution" the Maoists first of all destroyed the administrative-political struc-

ture of the "autonomous region". Five of its original seven *aimaks* (areas) were torn away and attached to other regions of China. This move deprived Inner Mongolia of a sizable part of its territory and population.

At the same time the central government mechanically included bits and pieces of other Chinese provinces in the autonomous region. Masses of Chinese settled there. As a result, the Chinese population exceeded that of the Mongolian population.

Even the Chinese emperors had not been so "efficient".

The second blow was struck at the Mongolian Communists who had fought shoulder to shoulder with their Chinese comrades to liberate the country from the Chiang Kai-shek bourgeoisie and the Japanese troops.

During the "cultural revolution" the central authorities removed such people from their posts, especially key posts, on a mass scale, discredited and arrested them. Many of them were killed. It is difficult to say how many Mongolian Communists were liquidated in the "autonomous region" in this way. It is a fact that in some places the scale of such reprisals approached genocide.

In 1967 Peking sent troops to the region. It set up revolutionary committees which attacked the old party cadres. The committees accused wholly innocent people of betraying China, of wishing to establish a "Mongolian kingdom", of bourgeois nationalism and so on. They accused local party cadres of drawing up plans to dismember China and of crimes only madmen could credit.

From Peking, Shanghai and other towns and cities the Maoists sent gangs of wild *hungweiping* thugs who caused chaos in the towns and settlements of Inner Mongolia. In January 1968 Teng Haijing,

chairman of the revolutionary committee of Inner Mongolia, publicly admitted that the region was on the verge of civil war.

But that was not all.

The central government launched a special attack on Mongolian culture and even on the Mongolian language. The aim was in effect to destroy the Mongols as a nation by "dissolving" them in the mass of the Chinese population. Such Sinification was conducted in various ways.

The Maoists said that to promote Mongolian culture and study the Mongolian language was tantamount to undermining the "unity of China". In 1960 *Sinkiang Hungchi*, a journal published in a neighbouring province, wrote:

"The distinctive features of the Chinese nation will become national features shared by the national minorities."

In other words, national minority groups were forbidden to have their own specific national features. Moreover, it was emphasised that the *hanqis* (Chinese proper) were noted for their exceptional character and their superiority over other nations.

It was claimed that "the Mongolian language and alphabet were short-lived". Moreover, "the Mongolian language will disappear altogether in the not very distant future". Instruction in schools was conducted in Chinese. Study of the Mongolian language, even as a second language, was forbidden. All Mongolian national holidays and songs were banned. It was hard to see where this policy differed from downright racism.

To prevent future generations of the inhabitants of Inner Mongolia feeling blood ties with their own nationality the Maoists began to "Sinify" even individual families.

A very simple expedient was used: the authorities prescribed mixed marriages. They would get a young Chinese to marry a Mongolian girl and lodge him with her Mongolian family, where he became head of the family so he could "guide" it. The Maoists believe that such artificially "remoulded" families will not only stop speaking Mongolian but will also completely forget their own people.

The resort to such methods for suppressing national and human awareness was cheaper than building concentration camps.

Finally, Peking introduced yet another measure in Inner Mongolia; it ordered the ploughing up of the pastures the Mongols had used for their herds from time immemorial. The authorities turned pastures into fields where there was no need for such a change. What was the point of it?

The government ordered the ploughing up of the pastures to undermine the economic basis of the very existence of this ancient nation of herdsmen. This led to the decline of livestock breeding in the "autonomous region", which was what the Maoists wanted. Commenting on such "reforms" the Mongols would say:

"It is like begging for alms with a silver cup in your hand."

Sinification thus went to the economic roots of the people's life.

One may ask: Are the Mongolian people in the People's Republic of China better off than under the feudal lords?

Though the answer may surprise some people, its truth is borne out by the reality. Well-informed people told me that life had become worse.

The main point is that, although the "Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia" still exists on the

map, it is methodically being abolished as a national entity.

It is a fact that feudal lords oppressed and robbed the Mongols. Yet they did not forbid Mongols to live on their own land, speak their own language and cherish their traditions. The Chinese emperors and their viceroys sought to extract as much wealth as possible from the region and did not care about anything else. By contrast the Peking authorities are stifling the Mongols.

There is another important point. There are 50 million non-Chinese in the People's Republic of China. The Maoist authorities have for years been harassing the Mongols and other minority nationalities in China. Such treatment is a threat to other nations and nationalities too.

Today it is clear that Peking would similarly treat any other Asian country that might come into China's sphere of influence. The fate of Kampuchea is a striking example. The former pro-Peking leaders of that country organised mass massacres. They destroyed over three million people in only a few years. But I shall return to this question later.

The experience of Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang and Kampuchea shows that latter-day Chinese nationalism has outdone the nationalism of the old Chinese bourgeoisie. It has already been pointed out above that it can hardly be distinguished from racism.

One must constantly bear this in mind. The petty favours which the heirs of Mao Zedong have recently been bestowing on the non-Chinese nationalities have not essentially changed matters.

Let us recall some facts.

At the beginning of this century every traveller to Outer Mongolia (now the Mongolian People's

Republic) which was then under Chinese rule was sure that the Mongols as a nation faced disaster.

They managed to avoid it. And it was the people's revolutionary forces in alliance with Soviet Russia that managed to save the Mongolian people from this disaster by the victory they won in 1921.

Though experts had predicted the extinction of the Mongols in the North, this did not happen. Instead came a national resurgence.

The recent experience of the Mongols living in the South, in the People's Republic of China points to the exact opposite. Under the rule of today's Chinese militarists the danger of the extinction of the Mongolian nation in the People's Republic of China, far from decreasing, has increased. Sinification is the antithesis of national resurgence.

Two types of historical experience reflect two different paths of development. The facts are now before us. And it is up to us to draw the necessary conclusions.

My last days in Mongolia.

Travelling through the southern part of the Gobi Desert I observe reddish-brown, blue and black mountains. There are other contrasting colours too. This desert is, perhaps, one of the most romantic spots on Earth. Much of it is in a virgin state, as if untouched since the creation of the world.

Scientists, for instance, say that the Gobi Desert, like nowhere else in the world, has preserved traces of prehistoric wild life. The desert looks more like a fantastic moonscape than the surface of the Earth. It was here that dinosaurs congregated in the remote past. A whole "graveyard" of their remains was discovered here a short while ago.

But while you are in the Gobi Desert you cannot help thinking about very earthly matters relating to very modern times. The southern fringe of this

desert borders on the so-called "Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia" which is part of the People's Republic of China. It is now mainly inhabited by Chinese. My Mongolian friends told me that the situation on the frontier is tense. China is constantly sending groups of saboteurs and spies across the frontier. They have been carrying out reconnaissance. The Chinese militarists are intensively engaged in strategic preparations.

Unen, a newspaper published in Ulan-Bator, writes:

"The history of the Mongolian People's Republic as a sovereign nation has seen numerous occasions when its sovereignty and independence were gravely threatened by foreign invaders and enslavers... Ever since the Mongolian People's Republic won its independence China's militarist circles never concealed their Great-Han predatory ambitions to take over Mongolia and conquer its vast lands... As in the past the threat of war from China still hangs over the Mongolian People's Republic."

The Maoists across the border are constantly engaging in malicious propaganda against the Mongolian People's Republic and are publishing slanderous literature in the Mongolian language. This is being done to disrupt friendship between the peoples. They have also been inciting Mongols against the USSR.

At the same time attempts are being made from across the border to win over the Mongols by flattery, to lull their vigilance in order to detach their country from the socialist community and, above all, from the USSR. It would be fair to say that in such duplicity the Maoists are as skilled as Western diplomats.

To sum up my impressions. As a historian I believe the main points are these.

Over a period of centuries several social-political forces sought in turn to decide the destinies of the Mongols. Each tried its own way.

First there were the early Mongolian feudal lords, headed by Genghiz Khan, who tried to conquer the world on their fast horses. Then came their heirs—the princes, who were mostly engaged in internecine strife. After that the Manchu-Chinese emperors ruled the country from the 17th century until 1912. They were followed by the Kuomintang bourgeoisie, represented by Chiang Kai-shek. But it was only socialism that presented to the Mongolian nation a way out of the impasse in which it had languished for such a long time.

I am one of many who have personally witnessed the resurgence of the Mongolian nation.

Accompanied by B. Shyrendyb, President of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, I entered the *yurts* of Mongolian herdsmen to hear their views on the new developments in the life of their ancient country. The people inhabiting the Central Asian plateau are making steady progress along their road.

In a letter to Erdeni Batukhan, a young Mongolian writer, Maxim Gorky wrote in 1925 from the island of Capri where he was then living:

"So far as I can judge about the Mongol soul from books I have read about Mongolia I think it would be very useful to preach to your people the principle of activity. All the good things Europe has—the things worthy of adoption by all races—are the result precisely of an active approach to life."

"Buddha taught: 'Desire is the source of suffering.' Europe is ahead of other peoples of the world in the sphere of science, art and technology precisely because it has never feared suffering, always wanting something better than it already had. It man-

aged to awaken a desire for justice and freedom in the masses of its people and for this alone we must forgive many of Europe's sins and crimes.

"I think... you should translate the European books which most strikingly manifest the principle of activity, of intense thought that strives for active freedom and not the freedom of inaction."

Such was the advice Gorky offered the intelligentsia of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1925. By then its people were already advancing along this road. The period of historical stagnation was coming to an end. The Mongolian People's Republic had already made the leap from feudalism to socialism.

The past of the Mongols in that country had been a tragic one. They are rightly proud of their present. The future is with them.

Ulan-Bator

Chapter Six

COLLUSION WITH THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

What are the implications of China's plans for a great empire? Who will have to pay for it all and how great will be the cost?

One thing is already clear. In the attempt to implement its plans Peking is, first and foremost, entering into collusion with the US. At the present time China can entrench itself in South-East Asia, for instance, only on a sharing basis with the US. China cannot operate there on its own. So the Peking leaders are helping to bring US imperialism back to the Asian continent from which it was driven thirty years ago. Now China is without any doubt helping the Americans to open the doors to Asia. It is helping them to do something that they could hardly accomplish themselves.

It is indeed rendering an invaluable service to the overseas imperialists. This is a flagrant betrayal of the Asian peoples—there is no other name for it.

In the mid-seventies America suffered a crushing defeat in Asia, the worst in its history: it lost Indo-China. And this debacle, it is universally admitted, has seriously shaken its position in the world. Ten years before that the Americans were sure they had a splendid future in Asia. After having occupied Japan, taken Vietnam over from France, gained a

foothold in the oil-rich regions of the Arab East and brought Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Israel into its orbit, the United States believed it had laid a sound foundation for its domination of a sizable part of Asia. One thing Washington feared: an anti-imperialist front of the socialist powers, the USSR and China in alliance with the national-liberation movements in various Asian countries.

In the sixties China broke from this front. Peking made a tacit deal with America instead.

The deal took Peking and Washington a long time to prepare. It had to be thoroughly prepared. The men in Washington knew whom they were dealing with. In January 1962 former US President Eisenhower voiced his satisfaction at Soviet-Chinese differences. Later Senator Henry M. Jackson, influential right-wing politician and spokesman of the military-industrial complex, stressed the same point. He made an earnest plea to avoid doing anything that might draw the Russians and Chinese closer together.

The Americans did not have to "deepen the rift". The Chinese did that themselves. Later President Kennedy instructed Roger Hilsman, Assistant Secretary of State for Eastern Affairs, to state that the US was ready to keep its "doors open" for talks with China for the improvement of American-Chinese relations.

The doors were opened. In April 1971 Premier Zhou Enlai told a group of visiting Americans that now a beginning had been made, the peoples of China and America could maintain steady contacts. A few days later he said a new page had been opened in Chinese-American relations. In February 1972 the newly-elected President Nixon arrived in Peking, where he had 40 hours of talks with Zhou Enlai and was received

by Mao Zedong. In a statement to newsmen Nixon said it had been agreed to keep the content of the talks secret.

What was the secret? Several months later Gerald Ford, a leader of the Republican Party and future US President, visited Peking and said about his talks that high-placed Chinese officials had asked many questions about the extent of US military might. They had said they did not want the US to withdraw from the Pacific zone or from any other region of the world.

In other words, the idea was to prepare not only for a political, but also for a military deal between China and the US.

A few other points became clear too. To conclude the deal China was prepared to see the US imperialists take over a whole number of important positions in Asia. In December 1975 *The Washington Post* wrote:

"China is the best assistant of the United States in the world arena... Its rhetoric notwithstanding, it is acting in such a way as to fortify the American presence in South Korea and Japan, in the Philippines and Thailand. It restrains North Korea and North Vietnam."

A year later Stanley Spector, US expert on Chinese affairs, made his statement already cited to the effect that China insisted on retaining the American military presence in Asia and had expressed "disappointment" at the US defeat in Vietnam.

Now everything was clear. All the subsequent steps in 1977 and 1978, namely, the Peking trip of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the visit of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the visit of a US Congress delegation and so on, served to consolidate and set-

tle details of the secret agreement China had concluded with the US.

I should add that according to *Patriot*, an Indian newspaper, in the course of their talks Peking and Washington reached "tacit agreement" on their policy with respect to Indo-China, a region which Zbigniew Brzezinski obviously agreed should fall in the Chinese sphere of influence, along with, perhaps, other territories in South-East Asia. When the US secretly backed China during its attack on Vietnam in February 1979, this fact was further confirmed. Figuratively speaking China was offered a bribe and took it. It became clear that in fact China and the US had negotiated, above all, the *division of Asia*.

This is also borne out by the fact that both these powers have recently joined hands in attempting to draw ASEAN, the association of five South-East Asian nations, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines, into their orbit and to turn it into an ancillary military organisation of theirs. In April 1978 Huang Hua, China's Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an official proposal to ASEAN member-countries that they should "form a united front with the People's Republic of China". As a result of its collusion with China, this would have meant a major extension of the United States' strategic system in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, which already included—in addition to China—Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and a base on the island of Diego Garcia. This step would have thus formed another link in the planned chain of military blocs with which the US intends to cover the world—SATO in the South Atlantic and METO in the Middle East.

Who will outwit whom in this game? Will the Maoists outdo the Americans or will the Americans

get the better of the Maoists? It is obvious that both sides regard themselves as unsurpassed schemers and each is striving to use the other. On August 24, 1976, for instance, Geng Biao, division head of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and later a member of the Politbureau, made the following statement to students of the Peking Diplomatic Academy with regard to the "two super-powers", that is to say, the USSR and the US:

"In order to survive we must have dealings with one in order to defeat the other... At the present time let the US protect... the coasts of the East China Sea so we may concentrate more forces to stand up to the northern power... When we find the time has come, we shall tell Uncle Sam: 'Please pack your bags and go.'"

One can easily understand why the Peking leaders are producing such arguments to explain to their subordinates why they are betraying the vital interests of the Asian people. They are forced to find ways of justifying themselves. But there is every indication that ultimately not China but America will win the game.

Militarily the US is incomparably stronger than China. As a result of its US deal China is now actually squeezed in a vice by the US Sixth and Seventh Fleets. There is also Japanese militarism in the ascendent. In Asia the US is in fact counting not so much on China (which America needs as a pawn in its game against the USSR) as on its long-standing ally, capitalist Japan. What the Peking schemers do not understand is that it is not they who are leading, but they who are being led. Hypnotised by their plan for a great empire, they are paving the way into Asia for the Americans. It is no accident that when Vice-President Walter Mondale returned to the US from his tour of South-East Asia in 1978,

he said outright that the United States was returning to Asia.

Now China is rendering a similar service to Japan.

In the summer of 1978 China signed a treaty with Japan which is obviously spearheaded against the USSR. The same question now arises: Which of the two sides stands to gain more from this particular treaty?

The West replies: China, because it is gaining access to Japan's great industrial resources. To some extent this is true. Japan can indeed give Maoist China many of the things it lacks. And what does Japan get in exchange? Which side is gaining more?

One only has to give the matter careful thought to grasp the essential point. By establishing closer relations with Japan China is helping the Japanese expansionists to return to the Asian continent where they left behind such ghastly memories of themselves. By acting in this way China is directly helping not only to strengthen the Japanese economy but also to revive Japanese militarism, the deadly enemy of all the Asian peoples, including the people of China. It is clear that without its Peking deal Japan could hardly have returned to the continent so quickly, even though the US is now on its side. What price will the Asians have to pay for *this* deal?

It has already been confirmed that the Chinese-Japanese alliance presages the rebirth of the Japanese army. Until now there were only relatively small "self-defence forces". In the autumn of 1978 it was reported that a Chinese military delegation headed by Zhang Caiqiang, Chief of the Chinese General Staff, was having talks in Tokyo with Japanese military leaders headed by T. Takisino, Chairman of the Japanese Joint Staff Council. Details of the talks are still not known. But in Japan these talks are regarded as an "unprecedented event".

Though the postwar constitution of Japan prohibits the organisation of an army and stipulates the renunciation of all war, it is now expected that the Japanese "self-defence forces" will be considerably expanded. Moreover, the new army is to be equipped with tactical nuclear weapons.

Thirty-three years after the Second World War the Japanese warlords are again raising their heads. It is clear to everyone that it is the US and China who are behind the scene.

It is true that China's perfidious act of aggression against Vietnam has evidently scared more sober-minded circles in Japan. They must have felt that the new Chinese militarism may constitute a threat to their own country in the future. But this consideration will hardly prevent collusion between the Chinese and Japanese warlords. Neither the former nor the latter are capable of looking far ahead.

What will China's rapprochement with the US and Japan lead to?

Naturally, nobody can predict the course of events. But the balance of forces between the three partners is obviously not in China's favour. In the US the main advocate of rapprochement with China is Zbigniew Brzezinski. On May 18, 1978, *The New York Times* had the following comment on this:

"More than other American officials, he (Brzezinski-E.H.) has been interested in playing China off against the Soviet Union and in trying to exploit their dispute against the Russians."

This is the answer to the question about what the outcome of America's collusion with Peking may be (at least as the American imperialists see it). Some Transatlantic circles want not only Europeans, but also Asians—both Chinese and other Asian peoples drawn into the US-Chinese orbit—to fight the Third World War for them.

That is the side of China's present policy that is shrouded in obscurity. Is it possible to conceive of a more disastrous policy? To call it an extremely risky one would be an obvious understatement. In practical terms, as we have seen, it is turning into direct complicity with the global strategy of capitalism. By steering this course the US and Japan hope to gain what they could not even dream of gaining yesterday.

New hotbeds of war are glowing in the areas of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is not surprising that as a reward for its services Peking is receiving its thirty pieces of silver from the US and Japan. But it is true that the latter are paying mostly in the form of lip service.

The sound anti-imperialist forces in Asia think Maoism should be held responsible for yet another historic crime. For pursuing a policy aimed at splitting these anti-imperialist forces. In pursuit of its imperial aims China is hindering the emergence of a vast socialist zone in Asia. The formation of such a zone would bring about an important change in international relations—and China is inhibiting this process.

Finally, the Maoist plans are promoting the growth of a great-power militarist bureaucracy in China itself. Peking is obviously engaged in creating a caste of Chinese vicegerents, officials and military cadres for the Asian countries which it believes will be brought into its sphere of influence. Here too the Maoists are following in the footsteps of the colonialists.

But Asia will not accept neo-colonialism in any form, not even American-Japanese-Chinese style neo-colonialism.

Chapter Seven

"MISSION IN ASIA!"

Western authors frequently speak of the Maoists as "Left-wing Marxists". But there is no "Left" or "Right" Marxism. There is only Marxism. Despite this, the Maoists themselves and their supporters in other countries readily claim to belong to the "Left Marxist camp". There are people in the capitalist world who believe them.

This belief is totally unfounded. So far as the true motives and intentions of the Peking leaders are concerned, their "Leftism" is nothing but a smokescreen. In reality Maoist policy is increasingly showing features of a totally different, carefully concealed ideology, an ideology that is the direct opposite of Marxism.

From the standpoint of a historian who looks into the future it would be fair to say that this theme may perhaps in time acquire special importance. But life itself has already put it on the agenda. Several incontrovertible facts have come to light which point to the existence of a hidden Maoist ideology.

In recent years many people could not help noticing that whenever possible the Maoists speak not only for themselves but also for the whole of Asia. They describe China as a power to which history has assigned a mission of "unification" in Asia. Chi-

nese leaders refer to this even in the course of official talks. As early as 1962 Kenzo Matsumura, a Japanese bourgeois politician whom Zhou Enlai received in Peking, reported:

"In his many talks with us Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that, as in the past, Asia was still Asia and that it was precisely up to the Asians to change world history. We should co-operate closely so as to strengthen the ties that are based on a common culture and *racial unity*" (my italics—E.H.).

This significant report was never denied. On the contrary, from then on the Maoists persistently made repeated statements in a "pan-Asian" spirit. Speaking in Lahore, Pakistan, Chen Yi said: "Asia belongs to the Asians."

In September 1969 *Renmin ribao* wrote: "Great China is rising to its full immense height in the East of the world."

As long ago as on November 18, 1957, Mao Zedong himself said: "The wind from the East will prevail over the wind from the West."

What does this statement remind you of? Perhaps of the call "Asia for the Asians" which the Japanese militarists raised during the Second World War? It is essentially the same. The East is being openly counterposed to the West.

The Maoists assert that Peking is the "centre of gravity" of the whole of Asia and its mouthpiece in world politics. They say that China is "responsible for the destinies of the peoples" living in that part of the world. At conferences of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation the Chinese delegates favoured the "coalescence" of the peoples of both continents. But they demanded that the Soviet Union be expelled from their community because it was a "non-Asian" and a "white" country.

In other words, the Maoists identify China with Asia. But in fact they concede only to China the right to speak on behalf of all Asians. They seek to do this even though the territory of China is only about one third of the total area of Asia and though nearly 1,500 million Asians live outside China.

Thus "pan-Asianism" of a purely Chinese hue has become the official creed of the Maoists. Such propaganda, of course, serves to promote Peking's specific plans of hegemony in certain parts of Asia. It might even attract certain more naive people. But this only shows that Maoist policy starts from tenets which are close to those of racism.

Socialism has never divided mankind into "white" and "coloured" races. Before Mao Zedong only the imperialists and the upholders of extremely nationalist theories in the bourgeois world engaged in such practices. That is why in their search for historical personages to lend authority to their views the Maoists now no longer turn to Marx and Lenin. Instead they appeal to such figures as Genghiz Khan, the medieval Asian tyrant. China today openly idealises this despot and conqueror, who laid waste many countries in Asia and Europe, as the "unifier of Asia" and, it is implied, the predecessor of the Maoists. It is worth noting that the Maoists have changed Genghiz Khan from being Mongol to Chinese. They have done the same with his grandson, Batu Khan.

I am not exaggerating. *Renmin ribao* speaks of Genghiz Khan as a statesman who played "a progressive role in the history of China as a whole". The Chinese journal *Lishi yanjiu* significantly adds: "And that of another forty states." Which states?

Some time ago China printed a sensational "Map of China in the Period of Its Supreme Might". This map included within China's frontiers practically the

whole of Asia and a sizable part of Europe, namely, the countries which the hordes of Genghiz Khan, his sons and grandsons Ogadai, Batu, Khubilai and others invaded six or seven centuries ago. The Maoists regard the conquests of these khans as China's historical heritage. The colours of the early Asian aggressors are now the colours of the Maoists! In what way do these views differ from those of extreme rabid nationalism? The issue is quite clear. What did Genghiz Khan do with the Asian peoples? He exterminated them 100 per cent, wherever possible.

To whitewash Genghiz Khan, to present this terminator of peoples as a man who "brought Asia together" the Maoists have devised a really stunning theory of the kind only they are capable of.

Historian Han Zhulin writes:

"In the past some historians took a negative view of Genghiz Khan... They stressed the wholesale massacres... They failed to see the progressive role Genghiz Khan played... Genghiz Khan abolished all the frontiers between states from the Pacific Ocean in the East to the Caspian Sea in the West..."

"His warhorses broke through the strong walls behind which the peoples of forty countries large and small were shut in, they enabled these peoples to see a wider world in which they could act and become acquainted with a more advanced culture from which they could learn. Does one really have to take a negative view of Genghiz Khan from the standpoint of the trend of history? The elimination of forty states could not take place without bloodshed and destruction."

One must take good note of these lines. They were written not only in the light of deliberations about the distant past. Abolition of all the frontiers between the Pacific Ocean and the Caspian by mas-

sacre or even genocide. Providing access to a "more advanced culture" by fire and sword.

The Maoist historian certainly thinks like a thoroughbred racist. But it is not he and the other Chinese "researchers" who matter, of course. In China Genghiz Khan has undoubtedly been rehabilitated and idealised on the direct instructions of the leader of the Maoists.

The Chinese journal *Lishi yanjiu* praised the tyrant for "restoring our great multinational state in the form in which it existed under the Han and Tang dynasties". The Han dynasty ruled China in the period from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. and the Tang dynasty from the 7th to the 10th century A.D. The predatory feudal lords of later times are praised. Emperor Kang-hsi, who lived in the 17th-18th centuries is commended for greatly extending in every direction the frontiers of the Qing Empire he ruled.

So, the aim of the Maoists is expansion at all costs, the subjugation of other Asian countries and regions regardless of the cost and despite their resistance. In the sixties the Chinese journal *Xin janshe* wrote:

"It is wrong to regard the expansion of one's territory as aggression and weak perishing nations as objects of aggression and to sympathise with them. The actions of a powerful nation or state designed to expand its territory are in keeping with the laws of the general development of their age."

Are these pronouncements so very far removed from statements by ultra-nationalists of the "classical", for instance, the Hitler type? They too emphasised the right of a "strong nation" to make short work of the "weak perishing nations". But there is a difference. It lies in the fact that such calls are now being made by people calling themselves "Left"

Marxists. Abandoning internationalism, these renegades have adopted chauvinism with continental or even global ambitions. Such ideological and political degeneration is of a complicated, often contradictory nature. So it is not immediately obvious to the outside world.

There are even more glaring examples of such degeneration among the members of the Peking ruling clique. Talking with Edgar Snow about the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 Mao Zedong recalled a song that glorified Japan's victory over tsarist Russia. He said:

"I still remember some charming words from it... At that time I knew I felt the beauty of Japan and felt something of her pride and might..."

Can a Marxist to whom tsarism and Japanese militarism should be equally hateful talk like this? No Marxist would say such a thing. Only a person with not a class but a racial approach could speak like that. It is no secret that in colluding with the Japanese revenge-seekers Maoist diplomats have been speaking in similar terms.

Would it be right to assume that in preaching "pan-Asianism" the Maoists use the term to embrace all Asians or at least all the peoples of the Mongoloid race?

Such an assumption would be a gross mistake. In actual fact *Maoist nationalism is neither all-Asian nor Mongolian, but Great-Han*, that is to say, purely Chinese nationalism. The Peking leaders are dreaming of the ascendancy of China alone, of its hegemony over the whole of Asia—and not only over Asia.

This is being graphically confirmed by developments within China over a period of many years and by the events we have described in the chapter on Inner Mongolia. Peking has been persistently

and constantly "Sinifying" the national minorities, those very same Asians who are living within the People's Republic of China. The non-Chinese peoples there—the Gzhuans, Uighurs, Tibetans, Mongols and others—total fifty million. All these nations and nationalities have produced their own age-old cultures. Some of them had states of their own for many centuries. Now the Peking authorities are trying to abolish their national features as quickly as possible and to erase them from the map of the People's Republic of China.

These minority peoples are being relentlessly "Sinified" by every conceivable means. The official autonomous territories of the national minorities have actually been deprived of their autonomy. The authorities treat people as they see fit. They are resettling vast numbers of Chinese in some of the autonomous regions of non-Chinese nationalities to ensure a numerical superiority of Chinese over the local population. That is what they did with Inner Mongolia. Another case in point is Xinjiang which is inhabited by five million Uighurs. By the early seventies seven million Chinese settlers had been moved there. At the same time non-Chinese are being resettled in Chinese regions where they are "dissolved". Thus less than half a million of the 4,500,000 Tibetans in China are living in Tibet proper. The rest have been dispersed in Chinese provinces.

Another instance. Until recently Kampuchea was under the "sponsorship" of China. When the pro-Peking regime came to power, the country had a population of 7,800,000. In the space of a few years the pro-Peking rulers brought the country to the brink of self-annihilation.

Several refugees, persons one can trust, who escaped from Kampuchea late in the autumn of 1978

described the situation then in that country as follows:

"Life has become unbearable both physically and morally. The pro-Chinese authorities have introduced an unprecedented reign of terror. People are being exterminated on a mass scale. This is something little different from genocide."

I have already mentioned that over three million people, that is to say, nearly half the population of the country, were destroyed.

The Kampucheans were harassed not only for expressing dissatisfaction with the existing regime, but also for complaining about poor working conditions or meagre food, and for asking for elementary housing conditions. This was considered "disloyalty". Normal punishment was the death sentence. With the knowledge and approval of Chinese "advisers" punishment was meted out by local officials without trial.

A strict curfew was enforced everywhere. People could not leave the street they lived in without special permission. Nor could they visit relatives living in other settlements. Even a man and his wife could meet only in daylight in the presence of three other persons. At night they slept in separate bunk-houses for males and females.

The civilian population was housed in what were called "new life villages" run like concentration camps. A machine gun was placed in a tower overlooking the camp. The inhabitants of such settlements were not allowed to have household utensils. All the food was prepared in a common kitchen. Even the aged and adolescents were obliged to work 11-12 hours a day. Meetings were held in the intervals between work. They were used for anti-Vietnamese propaganda, Vietnam being described as the "main enemy of the Kampuchean people".

Violence was an everyday occurrence. Systematic purges were conducted in the party and administrative machine and in the army.

The towns and settlements were full of Chinese emissaries and persons who claimed to be "experts". It was they who really were behind everything that was happening in the country at that time.

Is that an extract from a horror novel? No, until quite recently it was the reality in Kampuchea which was then dependent on China.

Why did China establish such regimes and create such conditions in countries that were dependent on it? Was this great-power chauvinism in action? Undoubtedly it was. But this nationalism becomes rabid racism. The mass extermination of those with whom the authorities are displeased has always been a typical feature of racist thinking. The domestic policy of the Maoists, just like their foreign policy, clearly shows that their "pan-Asianism" actually boils down to the Sinification of other Asian peoples.

Great-Han racism, as I have already said, was innate in the Chinese feudal lords and from them it was inherited by the Chinese bourgeoisie. An ideologist of the Chinese bourgeoisie once said:

"Our Chinese race can without any doubt create a perfect state and surpass the five continents... We Chinese have the strength to become in effect the masters of the world."

Another Chinese nationalist, the monarchist-poet K'ang Yu-wei, wrote:

"We are four or five hundred million people
"From whom we can recruit ten million soldiers.
"We have inexhaustible resources of iron and other metals,

"We can use them to build thousands of warships.
"And then we can march across the five continents

"And flying over them you shall see the flags of the yellow dragon."

Mao Zedong did not talk about the yellow dragon. But he did say China should become the first country in the world. He regarded himself as the creator of the "Asian form of Marxism".

But that is not all. Far from it. False pan-Asianism is only one aspect of Maoist racism. Its other aspect—anti-Europeanism—is equally manifest.

This is not surprising, because the one is inseparable from the other.

Whereas the Maoists openly preach pan-Asianism and are promoting it in every possible way, they have been careful to camouflage their anti-European sentiments. Peking is publicly silent about them. Mao's group could not play its game at the table of international politics, it could not link up with the NATO powers, nor with the US, if it were to show its cards here. But the policy of the Maoists, like their theoretical statements, exposes their aims.

The plans of Mao Zedong's heirs do not concern Asia alone. It is often heard in the West that Maoism is spearheaded solely against the Soviet Union and that the root of the matter lies in China's claims to Soviet territories in Asia. This view is totally erroneous.

The central political idea on which the Maoists have based their long-term calculations in recent decades is widely known. It is that a Third World War is not only inevitable but also desirable. One should never forget that in November 1957 Mao Zedong said that even if half mankind were destroyed in a future war "imperialism will be completely eliminated and socialism will triumph the world over, and in another fifty years' time or a century the world population will be restored even by more than half..."

This is a horrifying statement. What do the words imply in concrete terms? *Where* will the main theatre of operations be, if the capitalist world unleashes a war? *Which* "half of mankind" will be doomed to destruction?

Mao Zedong did not say one word about this either in 1957, or later. For an understanding of Peking's "major strategy" this is the most important, even the key question.

It is not difficult to answer it.

The Maoists display such indifference to the fate of "half of mankind" because they believe the Third World War will be fought mainly on two continents—Europe and America. It is true that they are ready to sacrifice the lives of several hundred million Asians too. But the most important point for them remains the possibility of destroying the European-American "white" civilisation. There is every indication that their calculations are based on this premise.

This fact may well fill you with horror. You may well refuse to believe it possible. But the facts are to hand.

When an eminent British Communist tried to prove to the Chinese leaders that a Third World War threatens the relatively small population of Britain with total destruction, they remarked:

"Who said a world socialist society must be built together with the British?"

A leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party put the following question to the Maoists: "If all the fifteen million people of Czechoslovakia are killed, who will build socialism in my country?"

The reply was: "You must learn to sacrifice small things for great ones."

The German Communist Party said in a statement issued by its Politbureau: "At the Meeting of Com-

unist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1960 the representatives of our party told the Chinese comrades that atomic war would spell national disaster for our working class and for our people..."

Other equally weighty statements to the same effect were made. European Communists cannot afford to ignore the vital interests of their peoples. But the Maoists have wholly ignored these considerations and their policy remains unchanged. In his report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1973 Zhou Enlai made the following statement, word for word:

"The present international situation is marked by great global upheavals. 'The rainstorm is approaching in the mountains and the wind sweeps all through the tower.' Detente is a passing and superficial phenomenon and great upheavals will continue in the future as well. *Such upheavals are a good, not a bad, thing for the people*" (My emphasis-E.H.). This is essentially the same thing Mao Zedong said as far back as in 1957.

So the point is not just the hostility of the Maoists towards the Soviet Union, but also their attitude to all the countries of Europe and to America also. It is clear that in the event of an atomic war the hurricane of death will sweep, above all, across the continents with a more highly developed economy, the continents with the largest working class.

The Maoists are clearly not in the least worried that not only the monopoly capitalists will suffer from such a blow. The fire zone will embrace such leading contingents of the proletariat in the capitalist world as the working classes of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, West Germany and other countries—countries where the working class movement was born. In the Maoists' eyes these are

only "minor sacrifices". Such a position can only be described as anti-European.

And what about China? It is, after all, quite probable that in the event of a world-wide thermonuclear war China too will not be able to avoid a terrible fate.

It has long ceased to be a secret that the aim of Maoist foreign policy is to provoke a clash between other powers, while remaining aloof from the conflict. But suppose things do not work out that way. What then? Let us quote what Mao Zedong said to Edgar Snow in a talk they had back in 1965. Mao frequently used Snow as his mouthpiece, and he approved the text of this conversation for publication. Mao Zedong said that, though other peoples may be completely destroyed as a result of an atomic war, there would be several hundred million people left in China who could start off again from zero.

Such then are the calculations of the Maoists: not only Asia but Europe and America too will have to pay with their blood for the fulfilment of the Maoist plans.

But that is not all.

For a long time the Maoists based their so-called "revolutionary strategy" in the fight against capitalism on the keystone idea of "surrounding the world town with the world village".

They claimed that at the present time the revolutionary initiative had passed from the "bourgeoisified" working class of the West to the pauperised rebel peasants of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In conformity with this notion armies of insurgent peasants on these three continents are to start extensive guerrilla operations, to lay siege to the "towns", that is to say, to the industrially developed countries, and ultimately destroy capitalism.

There is, of course, nothing new in this theory. Similar views were preached in the last century by the Anarchists and other groups close to them. Why have the Maoists adopted these views?

What does "an attack on the world town" mean in practical terms today? Are not the authors of this idea dreaming of something like a westward march of the Genghiz Khan hordes?

At least this was the idea the manifesto against the "world town" conveyed to the people of China doped with Maoist propaganda, especially the immature and easily excitable youth. A *tatsepao* (wall poster) in Peking, addressed to the Soviet people during the "cultural revolution", read:

"All the old and new hatred has been engraved in our hearts. We shall not forget it a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand years from now! When the hour comes, we shall flay you, draw your sinews, burn your corpses and scatter the ashes to the winds."

Another wall-poster said that the *hungweipings* were to play a role of "world-wide importance". Yet another offered the following explanation:

"It is up to us *hungweipings* to produce a show not only on the stage of our own country, but also on the world stage which we are to mount..."

At the time *Renmin ribao* wrote:

"The young *hungweipings* will tear the old world to pieces."

Though the *hungweipings* disappeared, that was what the young Chinese were taught and that is what they are still being taught. It will be these people who will take over the helm of the country tomorrow. The authorities are teaching them to hate not only the Soviet Union, but also the "world town", that is to say, Europe, Asia's neighbour.

The Maoists are assiduously fostering in their people a hatred of European socialism. The Maoist press is doing this all the time. This hatred does not merely stem from the arrogant contempt the Maoists feel for the European working-class movement. The deeply concealed sources of this contempt are rooted in the racist views they have inherited from the Chinese feudal lords and the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The same views are reflected in their attitude towards European culture and European art. The whole world was shocked when it learnt that China had condemned "for ages to come" such authors as Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Balzac and Gorky, such poets as Homer, Dante and Heine, such composers as Beethoven, Mozart, Tchaikovsky and Shostakovich and such painters as Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt and Picasso. This attitude can hardly be explained by artistic or social considerations. Who but a rabid, though disguised, racist could hate Shakespeare or Beethoven?

Asia has a great culture of its own. The whole world is aware of this. But this does not explain why the Maoists fling gross abuse at European culture. "Ideological" considerations have nothing at all to do with it.

The Maoists say Mao Zedong "transformed Marxism out of its European form into its Asian form". All the Chinese papers, all the Chinese spokesmen have been loudly proclaiming this. The Maoists believe one of the greatest services of their "great helmsman" was that he "Sinified Marxism". They say the "European form of Marxism" is an "overseas pattern" alien to China. They hint that by "Sinifying Marxism" Mao Zedong surpassed Marx and Lenin.

But Mao's theories have nothing in common with Marxism. They are a concoction of petty-bourgeois

concepts, pseudo-Marxist phraseology and ultra-nationalism. Preaching the "Asian Mission" of the Maoists, their calculations to destroy Europe and America in a Third World War, their hatred of European socialism and European culture, their glorification of Genghiz Khan, and their call to "surround the world town with the world village" form links of one and the same chain and spring from the same source.

The question naturally arises: How could so many people in China be taken in by Mao Zedong's falsified "Marxism" which was also tainted with the spirit of ultra-nationalism? He answered the question himself. In the summer of 1958, that is to say, six months after the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow where he spoke with such indifference about the possible destruction of "half of mankind", he said:

"Obviously, among other special features of the six hundred million Chinese people is their poverty and the fact that they are a clean sheet of paper. At first sight this may appear to be a bad thing, but in reality it is a good thing... There is nothing on a clean sheet of paper, so on it you can write new, very beautiful words and draw on it the newest and most beautiful pictures."

Mao Zedong had no qualms about insulting the Chinese people by voicing such an opinion of them. He believed, and his followers still believe, that they can do anything they like with their people. They maintain they can force upon their people any ideology and any policy they want.

All nationalists think like this until history proves them wrong. The Maoists are taking advantage of the fact that the just wrath which the European and American imperialists aroused in that part of the world by their many years of exploitation and

oppression is still blazing in the hearts of Asian peoples.

The Maoists continue to claim that they have been ordained with an "Asian mission". In reality, they have not brought and will not bring anything to Asia except new calamities and dangers.

Chapter Eight FOR PEACE IN ASIA

What do the Peking politicians need a huge Asian empire for?

It is quite understandable why the emperors and mandarins had such plans. The Chinese feudal lords believed they had a divine mission to perform in the West. Western imperialists were in pursuit of colonial profits. So far as the Maoists are concerned, the whole world knows that for many years they have hardly managed to make ends meet in their own country. Only raving fanatics could believe the Peking leaders capable of managing a dozen other states that have recently won independence through heroic struggle, states that regard the thought of new "hegemons" as out of the question.

China has no normal economic or political needs which would make such expansion necessary. It is a pure fantasy. This is not a revolutionary foreign policy, as its originator, Mao Zedong, claimed and his successors claim today, but a typical imperial policy with all its innate evils and hypocrisy.

It is not prompted by the interests of the people or by socialist ideas. It is inspired by the diametrically opposite motives of a clique possessed by megalomania. The true Communists in China never dreamed of anything like this.

In the meantime all this scheming is continuing. It would be a mistake to assume that only the top Maoist leaders are involved in drawing up these plans. The Chinese General Staff, diplomats, experts in economic expansion and intelligence chiefs are also participating in this work. An imperial policy is being pursued consistently step by step, year by year—not haphazardly.

Neither the death of Mao Zedong nor the collapse of the "gang of four" brought any changes in it. On the contrary, the present leaders—the "pragmatists" trained in Zhou Enlai's school—are obviously of the opinion that they are better suited for such undertakings than their predecessors.

The plans for a great Asian empire undoubtedly constitute a very formidable threat to the Chinese people, a threat such as they have never faced in the whole of their several thousand-year history.

These plans cannot succeed. By the end of the 20th century it has become impossible to create empires in Europe, Asia or on any other continent. The Macists cannot build a pseudo-socialist empire or Mao-ise the world.

But by driving the Chinese people onto a path of reckless gambles the Peking leaders are dooming them to calamities which it is difficult to foresee. As has already been mentioned, Mao Zedong made it clear that he saw nothing terrible in the loss of half or even two-thirds of mankind in another world war. No Chinese emperor would have dared to think of making such sacrifices in pursuit of his Great-Han plans.

Attempts to achieve these aims will not lead to the creation of a new Asian empire. They will only make China an unhappy and exhausted country. The heirs of the "great helmsman" are simply closing

their eyes to what they are unwilling to see. It is a tragedy for China that the policy-making in such a large and important state is in the hands of blind men.

How do the authors of the Great-Han programme hope to implement it?

Not only by exerting pressure on individual Asian countries, not only by setting one country against another and not only by using the United States and Japan in pursuit of China's aims—though it is actually the US and Japan who are using China in pursuit of their own goals. They have pinned their main hopes on provoking a Third World War.

The latter-day Peking mandarins believe that, if they succeed in this, they will be able to carry out their plans in a world that has been devastated. That is why Chinese diplomats are constantly repeating that another world war is "inevitable". They want war. But here too they are indulging in wishful thinking.

While they are floundering in the whirlpool of their policy, the Maoists fail to understand that sooner or later they are bound to be drowned in it. In the long run history never pardons political gambles. Though their concepts are on a superpower scale, the Chinese leaders fail to see the realities of the contemporary world, they have a poor grasp of questions relating to the balance of world forces.

But this does not absolve them of responsibility for what they are doing. They say their teacher "transformed Marxism out of its European form into its Asian form". In actual fact this is not even a "Sinified version" of Marxism but frenzied anti-Marxist nationalism.

The Chinese strategists would again like to turn Asia into a continent of ceaseless upheavals and

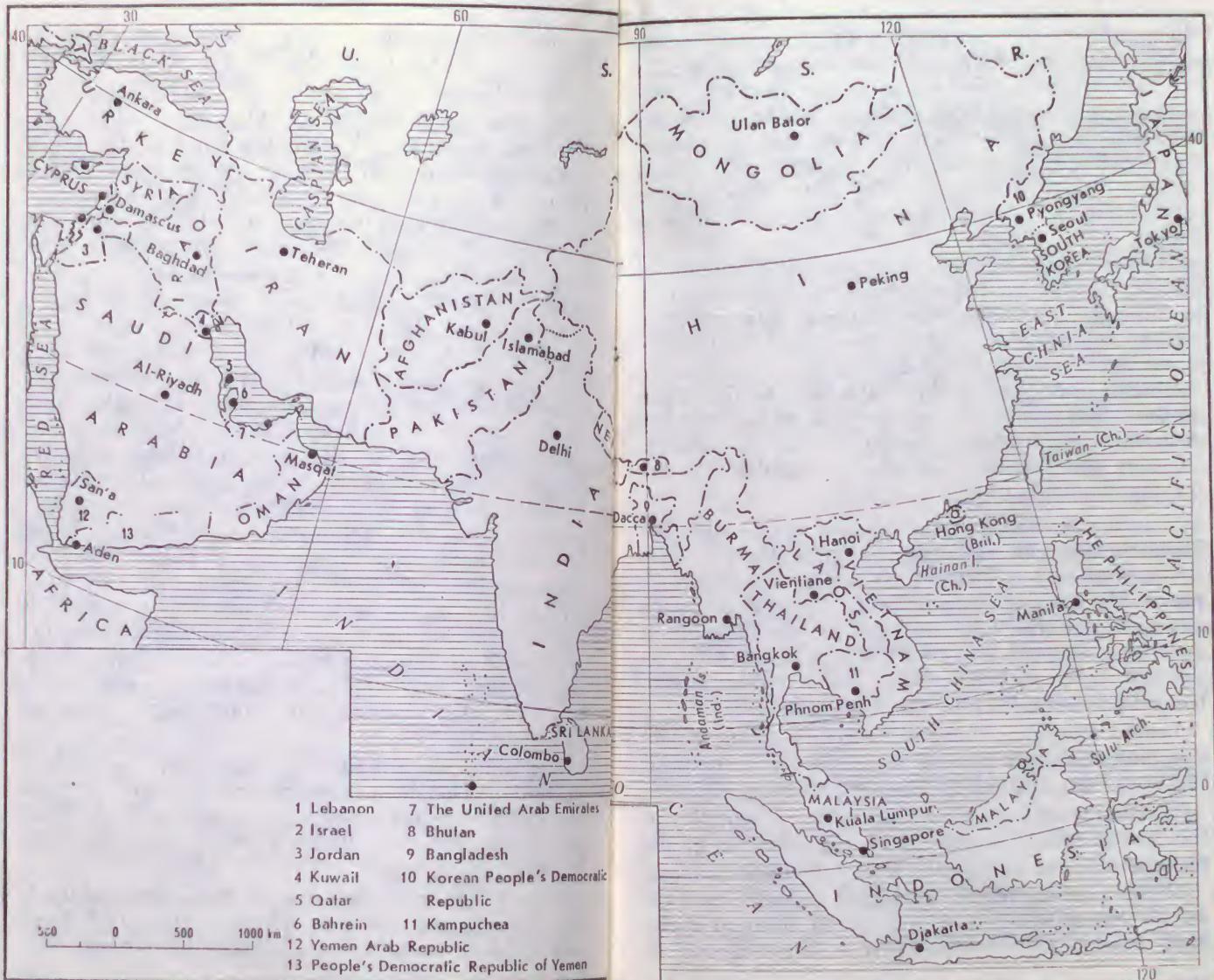
storms. *Renmin ribao*, Mao Zedong's mouthpiece, once wrote: "China's today is the whole world's tomorrow."

But this is absurd. Asia, like other continents, wants peace and security—not new empires. The times of Genghiz Khan ended seven centuries ago. Though China has an enormous population and a vast territory, Sino-centrism today is a political, economic, geographical and social absurdity. The Chinese people, whom the present Peking rulers wish to sacrifice, will come to realise this sooner or later.

Let me repeat that Asia, like all other continents, urgently needs peace. Of all five continents Asia has had the most dreadful past. Only Europe has suffered more in the present century. But the most savage form of feudalism raged on Asian soil. For ages Asians lived in the hurricane-swept zone of barbaric invasions. Nowhere was human life held as cheap as in Asia. Whole cities were massacred. Regions equal in size to European states were reduced to ashes. Before the emergence of Hitler no other continent but Asia had such power-mad maniacal tyrants. In Asia one sadistic despot was replaced by another. No continent was ridden by such unbounded and desperate poverty as Asia, suffered from such endless and wholesale epidemics, such merciless colonial oppression and such chronic hunger.

Describing the situation in India Karl Marx wrote in 1881: "This is a bleeding process with a vengeance! The famine years are pressing each other and in dimensions till now not yet suspected in Europe!"

Even Africa which suffered so much from colonialism nevertheless came up against it at a much later stage. For centuries on end Asia, the largest con-



tinent of all, the continent with the most ancient culture, a continent forming one third of the world's land surface, could not rise to its feet to stand alongside Europe and America. Some day in the future this will be regarded as a most striking paradox of history, due to a number of economic and political causes. The Marxist history of Asia, which future generations will write, will be a work of thrilling drama.

It would seem that the worst now lay behind. Socialism had shown the continent the road ahead. It is difficult to conceive the influence Asia will have on the whole course of contemporary history, as it advances along this road. Its free peoples, undoubtedly hold one of the main keys to the future of the whole world. To enable them to use this key Asia must be free of Genghiz Khans, Tamerlanes, Curzons and Tanakas, and also of Maoists, the latter-day claimants to hegemony.

Asia has earned a right to peace on its soil. The Soviet people can rightfully say that their country has spared and is sparing no pains to secure such peace. The idea of ensuring security for Asia on the basis of joint efforts by all states of the continent, in particular, through the creation of a peace zone, especially in the troubled region of the Indian Ocean, has always been dear to the Soviet Union.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has said:

"An agreement on curtailing military activities in the Indian Ocean would be in the interests of the peoples of Asia, and of the world at large."

USSR representatives expressed support for such an agreement when they stated their position at the 32nd Session of the UN General Assembly and at

the Special Session on Disarmament. At the present time the aim is to freeze military activities in the Indian Ocean at their present level. This would, of course, be only a first step towards solving the problem as a whole. This step could be followed by other important measures, such as the removal of military bases, above all.

But someone is constantly interfering. Who? Every international observer knows who. The United States, above all. It has not only refused to withdraw from these regions but is even extending its system of military bases both there and in adjacent regions. Another state which is constantly putting spokes in the wheels is Maoist China. It intends to build up its Asian empire regardless of the cost. There is every indication that both these powers are marching in step. This is one reason why the Asians have not yet won real peace and security.

To put it in a nutshell China's policy is diametrically opposite to that of the USSR. It should be said that this refers not only to Asia and not only to the sphere of international relations. The Marxist-Leninist ideas which form the basis of the Soviet system are totally incompatible with Maoism in the fields both of ideology and of practical politics. Those who confuse one with the other are making a gross mistake. Maoists are *not* Communists.

Moreover, in the recent period Maoism has hopelessly degenerated into a peculiar kind of anti-communism. Its real ultimate aim is the enslavement of the world. It should be said that Maoist leaders in fact make no distinction between countries, continents or parties, between Marxists or Social Democrats, Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Buddhists or Moslems. They are constantly preparing for war.

They have thrown down a challenge to the whole of mankind. At the present time their policy is above all spearheaded against the peoples of Asia.

But Asia does not belong to the Chinese. It belongs to all the peoples who inhabit it. It is up to them to make their voices heard.

Эрик Генри
АЗИЯ ДЛЯ КИТАЙЦЕВ?
на английском языке
Цена 30 коп.